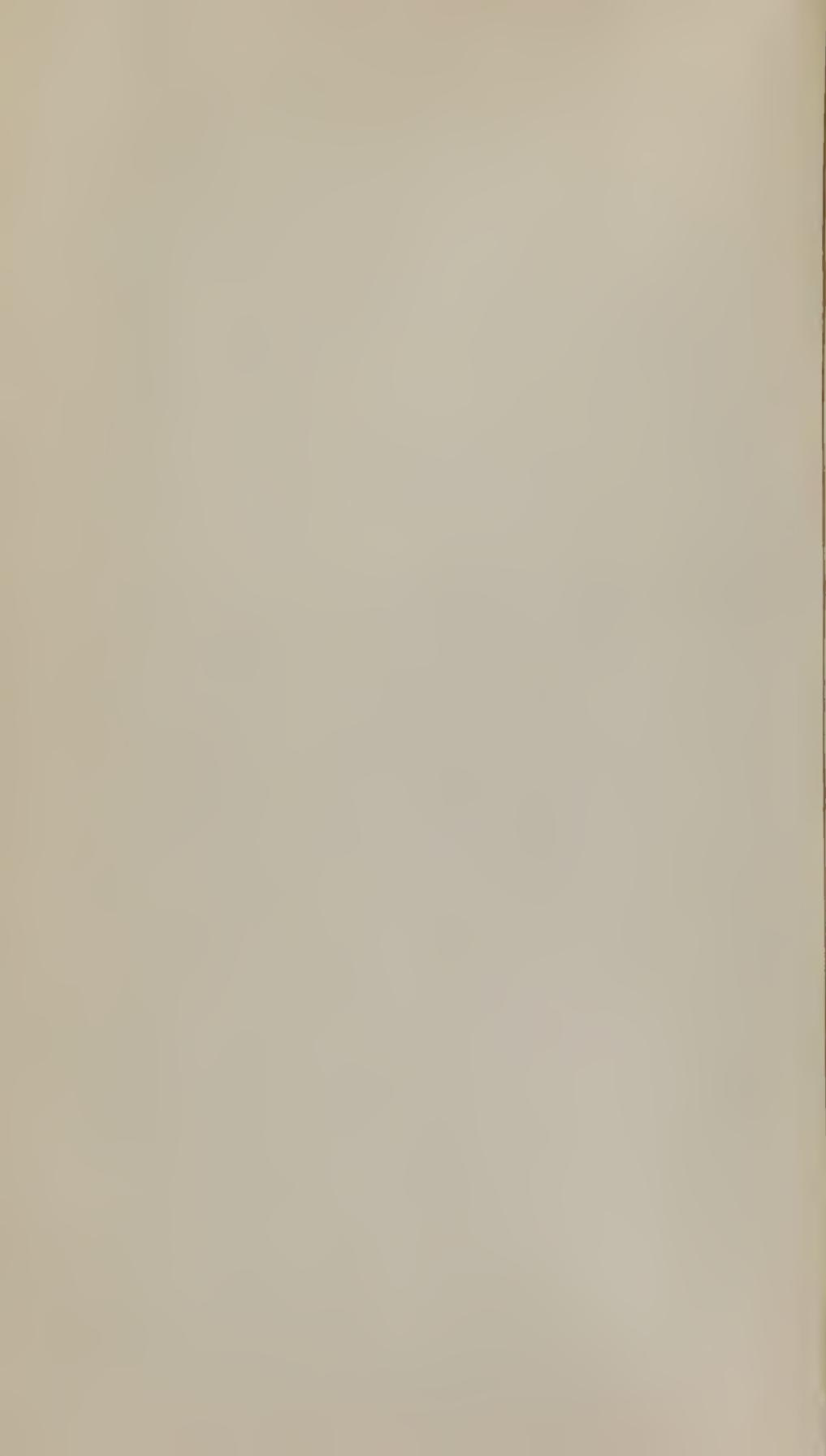






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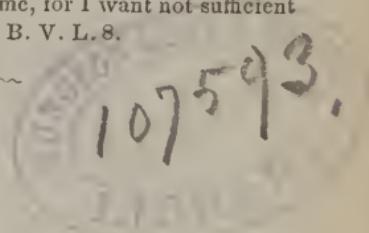




THE  
PHILOSOPHY  
OF  
HUMAN NATURE.  
BY  
FRANCIS E. BREWSTER.

“Shall I write only of the present times, and those wherein no other author has gone before me? If so, I may probably give offence to many, and please but few. However, this does not at all discourage me, for I want not sufficient resolution to bear testimony to the truth.”—PLINY, B. V. L. 8.

PHILADELPHIA:  
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## NOTE TO THE READER.

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MUCH has been written in one place which would seem perhaps to belong to another head. Some things may appear irrelevant and unconnected, many valuable thoughts have, no doubt, been omitted, and some things said may be unprofitable.

It may also be objected that there is a repetition of things or principles, and that there are unnecessary or too highly-colored descriptions.

To all which it is answered that the subjects treated of in these chapters are in their nature somewhat desultory and fugitive, rather than systematic.

That they are in some measure complicated with, instead of being independent of, and separated from, each other.

Some repetition becomes unavoidable, because the same impulses run into, and stimulate different operations of the mind, and are, therefore, explanatory of the various movements and effects of different results.

The consequences set forth are after all joint productions of many principles and causes combining to produce them.

In treating of these various causes and secret motives, it becomes necessary, therefore, to bring in more than once the same causes and effects to show up the same aims and designs.

All measures, be they good or be they bad, are brought about not by a single cause or act, but by a combination of circumstances, or a series of acts and causes, all concurring to produce them.

Truth will bear repetition, and often requires it to be heard and understood.

The causes and acts which tend to destroy the peace and safety of society ought to be repeated often enough, and in language sufficiently loud and severe, to be heard and attended to, and understood by all those concerned.

Repetition is also in lieu of emphasis, or in the nature of a stress laid upon any event or any danger.

If, then, by repeating existing evils, and tracing out their secret and hidden causes, the attention of the credulous and the unwary shall be called to them, so as to enable them to avoid danger, infinite good will follow.

It must also be remembered that the mental faculties, secret propensities, and animal passions of man are so blended and interwoven together, that it is sometimes difficult from his actions to detect the impulses, or nominate the emotions, by which he is incited or induced to act; and that he often acts under a combination of influences so hidden and mysterious as to baffle the most acute observation and profound experience.

An abstract or theoretical dissertation, however profound and logical, will not expose his dark and lurking propensities. It can only be done by a careful scrutiny upon his sinister and unguarded developments. His craft and subtlety are so deep and refined that this precaution is necessary to detect him. He must be watched in the first impulse of reason and passion, puberty and maturity, through all the exigencies of life.

It cannot be done by hypothesis, generalization, or abstract reasoning.

It must be done by the exposure of facts as tangible as physiological demonstrations made upon the vital sensations of the heart and the nerves.

The mode adopted for the treatment of this subject is therefore by chapters, under appropriate titles intended to define and indicate with graphic accuracy the moral and mental phases of his motives, impulses, and actions.

The cases and examples employed by way of illustration are faithful representations of events and circumstances which have really occurred, unaided by embellishment or fiction. They furnish an imperfect glimpse at the revolving kaleidoscope of man's cunning devices and mysterious ways.

While, for ages past, the popular arts and sciences, those which minister to the passions and cupidity of mankind, have been elaborately investigated and successfully explored, the illimitable and infinite occult mysteries of human nature, a thorough knowledge of which is so intimately essential to man's social safety and moral elevation, have nowhere been made the subject of a distinct philosophical disquisition.

This undeniable omission of scientific research has left open and almost wholly unexplored a chasm in the dark mysteries of human nature, the neglect to examine into and penetrate which has come from a cowardly fear of self-exposure, or the egotism of self-sufficiency, self-knowledge, and self-complacency.

No pretensions are here affected of a systematic analysis or scientific exposition of "*The Philosophy of Human Nature.*"

Its magnitude and importance require the research and learning of ages; all that is here attempted is to put down faithfully a few suggestions, observations, and developments, the result of the close experience of one man's life of sixty years, which may serve perhaps as a beacon-light for the young, and an incentive to the aged for their contributions to a work which shall successfully solve the dark and wonderful problems of the human heart.

FRANCIS E. BREWSTER.



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## CORRECTIONS.

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Page 35, line 10, read *are* instead of "is."  
" 40, " 3, " 1826 instead of "1846."  
" 40, " 4, " 1826, page 414, instead of "1825, page 4-6."  
" 43, " 21, " *an hypothesis*, instead of "a hypothesis."  
" 48, " 7, " *fugitive*, instead of "fungative."  
" 63, " 18, " *work*, instead of "worth."  
" 91, " 2, " *are*, instead of "is."  
" 125, " 13, " *flexanimus*, instead of "flexanimis."  
" 146, the second, third, and fourth paragraphs are extracts, and not quotations.  
" 186, " 4, " *malum* instead of "malus."  
" 209, " 10, omit the word "not."  
" 262, " read "*Conscia mens recti famæ mendacia ridet*," for the last line.



## CHAPTER I.

### EDUCATION.

Education extensive in U. S.—will test the question—if it improves the morals and mind—If Napoleon had not been educated, query—Quacks, pettifoggers, &c.—But few minds strong enough for professors—Genius will rise—Education does not make mind—Too much expected from education—Ignorant parents cannot educate their children—Army and navy; examination periodically—Should be so with all professors, judges, &c.—But opposite extreme to be avoided—Poor schools like poor relief, for bread, &c.; food necessary, &c.—Schooling a mere bounty—Factionists make it general to flatter the poor—Should be given to poor only; and to them to read and write, and then learned trades, &c.—Takes time; they should be at trades, &c.—Great men self-educated—Morals—Mind—Passions—Mental Sensation—Will—Impulse—Depravity—Millions ignorant of their own science—Man prone to idleness—Proper education useful—If all from 5 to 21 are trained in school, they cannot make livings—To make them work all this time is to be drudges—Should be practical, and before 21—Apt to deteriorate after this—There should not be too many in the professions—Points discussed, viz. 1.—No power to tax, but to school *poor*—the law. 2.—If beyond 13, females, and 14 males. 3.—If for any, even below this, but poor. 4.—Effect of education, all from 5 to 21. 5.—Whether, if up to 21, improves the morals. 6.—If an education given by a general police regulation is not enough. Result of this if enforced properly: 1.—Streets clear of vagabonds. 2.—Property, person, and life secured. 3.—Gaming houses, &c., stopped. 4.—The bad would have no encouragement. 5.—All that is robbed, &c., would be saved. 6.—Myriads would reform.—Childhood, time for education and restraint, indulged—Fine clothes, with pocket money—No boys now; all are men—Apprentices refractory—Swarms of half learned in all employments—Such of both sexes unfit for matrimony, and rush on it—Females taught music and frivolities, not necessary things—The entire system of edu-

tion involves life from its germ to the grave—Religion the true foundation of all education—Toleration of religion in the United States, infinite good.

EDUCATION, that which we understand by schooling, is now being fully developed in the United States upon a much broader and more enlightened scale than it has before been tried.

This will test the proposition whether the intellectual light obtained by a knowledge of the rudiments of learning will improve both the morals and understanding, and arm the mind against the seductions of sin and ignorance.

No man in the United States can plead the want of means to learn how to read and study for himself.

The Sunday Schools, Free Schools, and other schools, now embrace almost the entire infant population, and the next age will, perhaps, show a race of men superior in intelligence to any other nation in the world.

It must be remembered that this light, like the rain from Heaven, falls upon the just and the unjust, fructifying and nourishing the rank and poisonous weeds as well as the tender grass.

Whether this mental amelioration and education of the poor, who are well disposed, will not be counterbalanced by the advantages in like manner given to the wicked and depraved in better fitting them for adroit perpetrations, remains to be seen.

There is at this time a very great number of educated and artful knaves in the United States, who hold positions and places of influence and power, and are employed in, and prepared for schemes and plots involving the most pernicious and dangerous consequences to the private pursuits and public welfare of the people.

Knowledge is power to the bad as well as to the good.

If Napoleon had never known how to read, the career of his great genius might have been confined to piratical cruises on the Levant. By learning and knowledge he discovered his mind to be far above the masses. By these means he gained confidence in himself, and in the name of Destiny and Reason skilfully buccaneered upon the lives and treasures of a continent.

If the subjects of his venal ambition had been as enlightened as the inhabitants of the North American States now are,

he might have shrunk from, or have been foiled in his experiment.

Knowledge cannot be instilled into, or made to improve, or give additional strength to a weak mind—on the contrary it inflates the vain, magnifies fools and dunces, and misleads the ignorant.

A mere quack can be shunned, but it is extremely difficult to guard against the imposition of authorized and plausible blockheads.

The American experiment of graduating ignorant clowns, and admitting to the practice as doctors and lawyers, unschooled and lazy mechanics and presumptuous and broken-down hostlers and peddlers, and dubbing the highest collegiate degrees for favor and money on every audacious pretender, has turned loose upon society an army of professional vagabonds, who have become a common and notorious nuisance to men of education and to the country at large.

Unless oppressed, genius will have light, and to a searching and perspicuous intellect, knowledge then becomes power.

If the lion knew his strength, he would not suffer himself to be caged.

It is a momentous question big with curious reflections.

The United States will soon double the force of the great political maxim, that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," for the enemies of its free institutions, by this system of education, are taught to feel and use their power for bad as well as for honest purposes.

Perhaps there is too much expected from education. All men know by observation and experience, that honest labor is productive, and hence some are led to infer that an education must produce similar results. This would seem to be the conclusion by which almost every mechanic and tradesman is governed, who, if able, most resolutely educate and supply all their sons, however numerous, with learned professions.

Nothing can be more absurd. Being uneducated themselves, they do not know how to superintend the education of their children, and are therefore imposed upon by their being but half learned.

The parents have no appropriate means of starting their sons in their own professions with the advantages of their experience, credit, character and customers, as they could do if their boys were brought up for and began their father's busi-

ness. And hence such candidates for patronage are compelled to commence life without any paternal or family patronage, to waste years in painful struggles to obtain a foothold, and often fail in the severe and trying experiment.

There is no objection to the education of every man, but the error lies in expecting too much from it, in the supposition that it can make mind or create genius, whereas it takes from a boy's early years the time which should be used for acquiring a practical knowledge of some employment upon which he can depend for subsistence, instead of keeping him at schools where he gets nothing but habits of distaste for honest labor.

There is not one man in ten thousand who has vigor of intellect sufficient for a learned profession. Give children sufficient schooling suited for their intended occupations, and set them to work. If they have mental faculties above this sphere, their indications of thought and mind will soon be developed. They will be quiet students, and not brawling dandies; obedient and dutiful pupils; and grateful and respectful to their parents, instead of being blasphemers, rebellious, and dissolute.

The community suffers the most incredible and serious injuries by the ignorance and negligence of persons engaged in scientific pursuits and in the professions.

Apothecaries, chemists, teachers, doctors, lawyers, public officers, by favor, presumption, and trick, are permitted to begin without adequate preparation. They, therefore, abandon all research and improvement, and depend upon the plausibilities of address and speech for success.

In the army and navy, besides an ascertained previous qualification, there is a board of aged and experienced gentlemen, who, at short intervals, thoroughly examine the surgeons and other officers. Their duties are placed upon the footing of collegiate labor, in which the course of studies is for life, and in which there must be unremitting research, and conclusive evidence of improvement and progress, or the pupil is put back or dismissed.

This wholesome discipline should be rigidly applied to all civil, as well as military and naval functionaries. Perhaps there is more reason for it in the former than with the latter class of individuals.

There can be no objection to it on the score of disrespect. Gentlemen of moral rank and eminence in their professions

could be appointed for the examinations, of whose good opinion any one might be proud. If the result is favorable, it will increase public confidence, and swell the reputation of the examined; and if it is unfavorable, they should be dismissed, and the people undeceived. No harm, and much good may come from it.

The country is overrun with persons in all the relations referred to, who never read or study, or keep up with the improvement and progress of the age. Of doctors and apothecaries, who even lose their recollection of technical words; of lawyers, who have no books, and spend their time in debauchery; of judges, who read nothing but newspapers; who loaf, lounge, eat, drink, and smoke perpetually; dabble in politics; deal in lots, stocks, and lottery policies.

The baker's bread and the butcher's meat can be tested by every one; but the ability to do this does not apply to, and utterly fails in everything which depends upon art and science. The one is palpable to the senses; and the other is obscured by deep and hidden mysteries.

Knowledge and learning may be assumed with impunity by the crafty knave to the ignorant and unskilled, who should be indemnified against such frauds by certain and abundant scrutiny.

Nostrums, astrologers, pedagogues, demagogues, quack doctors, pettifogging lawyers, corrupt and ignorant judges, to which add dram-shops, monopolies, and gambling, have defiled the morals, fed upon the earnings, and tortured and slaughtered the people for ages.

It is now high time that the good sense of mankind should banish them forever from the face of the earth, and that intellect, genius, true learning, industry, and integrity should everywhere prevail.

In the measures used to prevent these abuses, care should be taken not to run into the opposite extreme, by educating indiscriminately the whole mass of society. They should not all of them be educated as scholars; some are required to do the necessary work of society; and there is but a very small proportion who are capable of receiving an education in the arts and sciences, and who have capacities above the dependent occupations of life.

The poor school system is carried to an absurd extreme in some places. The law as it originally was, and really should

be, is, that "*the poor shall be taught gratis:*" that is, taught to read and write. This is all that was ever taught in the alms-houses, or to the out-door poor in any other country, or in this country, until misguided philanthropists and unning politicians contrived the present scheme.

Schooling to the poor is a public charity, as much as the supply to them of victuals. The law puts them upon the same footing. It is like all other pauper bounty.

The primary rules of organized society did not require from the public any pauper liability, except for animal necessities. There was no moral or mental aid embraced in this public duty. The public has added their agreement as is above recited. This is a gratuity, not a duty, and it is fraudulent to suffer its perversion to the accommodation of individual advantage, or to theoretical notions of general philanthropy.

Because the people of Pennsylvania, for example, gratuitously consent to tax themselves for the cost of *teaching the poor*, it does not follow that they shall be forced to support academies and colleges, where the arts and sciences are taught to all gratis. And that, by way of excuse for this favor, shall they be told that they also may send their children to these schools, and that they should do so to remove from the poor children the stigma of pauperism.

There is no more reason why this benevolence should apply to the pauper relief, granted for the children of the poor to be taught, than for the children of the poor to be fed.

The reason is not so strong for the first as the last case, because to feed the poor is necessary, to teach them is a gratuity. A duty may, but a favor may not be demanded. A duty with all its incidents can be claimed and used as a matter of right, a gratuity cannot be claimed with allowances or enlargements.

The one carries with it appurtenances, the other is confined and limited to its literal stint.

The practical character of this theory would seem to be, that the public being bound to feed the poor, the leaders of factions who seek popularity by sinister pretensions of benevolence for the poor, by the apathy of the people, get the power into their own hands, of raising and using the money for this object, out of those who earn and save it, with which they build and furnish for themselves gorgeous palaces, and feed upon viands more sumptuous than those whose money pays the cost can afford to accommodate themselves with.

Shall they be told to join this fraudulently got-up banquet, this pie-nic of poachers, so that by kind philanthropy the pauper pride of those they feed shall be soothed and compromised?

What the public has agreed to do let it be done. But because they feed the poor gratis, it does not follow that they are bound to support them in affluence. And, because they have agreed to teach their children gratis, they are not bound to submit to the preposterous fraud of supporting colleges for the education of the poor, and to be told by these very paupers and their infatuated advocates, that the door is open for all children to walk into and be taught. It is an artful subterfuge for popular courtship.

Teaching the poor how to read, and write and reckon, is all that was ever expected. These, including the first four or five rules of arithmetic, has been all that for ages has been covenanted for by indentures of apprenticeship; all that is necessary for their mental instruction and to enable them to transact their private affairs, and all that is ever required for any child who is not to be prepared for a learned profession or for some scientific pursuit; all that is necessary, and certainly all that is reasonable to require the public to pay for in any country, much more in the United States, where every man who has his health should be able by his own earnings to educate his children, without imposing upon the public, or degrading his offspring by pauperism, for their schooling any more than for their victuals or clothing.

There is no difference in this respect between provisions and schooling, and no one with means who has the spirit of a man, would humiliate himself by sending his child to a free school any more than he would send him to a soup-house to get his dinner gratis.

By this system, children are too often kept at these schools, without any definite object as to their subsequent employment, and for the mere accommodation of ignorant and capricious parents, who are too stupid and vain to set their children at useful labor, by which they can earn honest livings and lay the foundations for future habits of industry.

In the devise made by Stephen Girard, for the education of "*poor orphans*," provision is expressly made for their preparation "*for some suitable occupation*," and it is given upon the express condition: That at fourteen or eighteen years of age, "*they shall be bound out to learn agriculture, mechanical trades, &c.*"

The present system has a tendency to make boys profligate, lazy and insolent, and imposes millions of taxes upon the community in the name of charity, which is not so.

Because a boy is destitute of a dinner, it does not follow that he is to be fed all his life. That having no clothes or home, he is to be clothed and accommodated with board and lodging for years, or that while he receives this aid he is to have it better than those who work to give it to him, and that if he does not know how to read, that his neighbors shall work and earn money to school him longer and better than they school their own children, or shall pay to keep him in a college, with expensive teachers and costly appliances for years, to acquire a profession which he may or may not pursue as he chooses, or which he may not have brains enough to follow, when the persons from whom this tax is impertinently extorted cannot afford thus to teach their own children.

A common school for all to go to can no more be forced upon the people of the United States, than a common church.

The poor school is a part of the pauper law to give the children of the poor necessary mental as well as bodily food.

What schooling is necessary is just so much as is required to enable them to read and write, together with the first rudiments of grammar, geography and arithmetic.

After this they can read and study the Scriptures, and all other books for themselves if they choose and have the disposition to do so.

All this is proper, just and honorable. It is the benevolent feeling of parental kindness, the benevolent spirit of aid and protection by a wise and righteous government.

Beyond this limit the tax for, and the expenses of a free school should not go. None but the children of persons too poor to pay for schooling should go to such a school, and none but pauper children can go there without a gross fraud upon the public.

If a boy has genius and is taught how to read and write, he will not be held in. His mind will vault up into the spheres of knowledge.

He will acquire learning without being made a pauper to obtain it.

There are more men perhaps in the United States, who have been educated in the schools in proportion to the number of their inhabitants, than in any other country. And notwith-

standing this, almost all of their distinguished statesmen, jurists, and learned men are self-taught.

The education of children beyond the first elements, unless it be for some defined pursuit, such as navigation, surveying, mechanics, &c., and for the mere purpose of education, is wholly unnecessary. It cannot make mind any more than light can make the blind see. If the student be a dunce, education is wasted on him, and if he be not a fool, and does not use it for some useful and appropriate purpose, it is sure to do him more harm than good.

It wastes all that part of his life in which habits of industry are formed, gives him a disrelish and contempt for labor, and makes him an idle leech, neither an independent, respectable working man, nor with the caste which is looked for in one who has been educated. He is generally a drone or a vagabond.

“There is, perhaps, no trade or profession existing in which there is so much quackery, so much ignorance of the scientific principles, and of the history of their own art, with respect to its resources and extent, as is to be met with amongst mechanical projectors. The self-constituted engineer, dazzled with the beauty of some perhaps really original contrivance, assumes his new profession with as little suspicion that previous instruction, that thought and painful labor, are necessary to its successful exercise, as does the statesman or the senator. Much of this false confidence arises from the improper estimate which is entertained of the difficulty of invention in mechanics; and it is of great importance to the individuals and to the families of those who are thus led away from more suitable pursuits, the dupes of their own ingenuity and of the popular voice, to convince both them and the public that the power of making new mechanical combinations is a possession common to a multitude of minds, and that it by no means requires talents of the highest order. It is still more important that they should be convinced that the great merit, and the great success, of those who have attained to eminence in such matters, was almost entirely due to the unremitting perseverance with which they concentrated upon the successful invention the skill and knowledge which years of study had matured.”—BABBAGE’S *Economy of Manufactures*, p. 212–13.

Man has ever shown an irrestrainable propensity for aboriginal idleness, and lawless liberty. He rebels against the

sober dictates of wisdom, and reluctantly yields to the constraints of government.

It is by the force of education that these propensities are reformed; it is an arduous and painful task; it requires the appropriate knowledge obtained in schools, practical instruction in the business to be pursued for a living in after life, temperance and patient industry.

Without these elements of knowledge and self-constraint, there can be no useful education. The work will be but half done, and the pupil will enter life just so far unprepared for its competitions, as the advantages which those who are prepared will have over him.

To train all men from five to twenty-one years of age, in school, where the precepts of morality and self-constraint only are taught, however refined in virtue, and purified by religion, they would be altogether helpless to themselves, and useless to society.

To give them skill in the mere manual pursuits of life would produce a race of ignorant, sordid serfs; and to bring them all up in schools, would turn them out to scramble amongst each other for the common wants of life, amidst perilous excitements and crime.

The theory which involves the exclusive application of either of these plans of education is fallacious and destructive. A mere scholar, a mere mechanic, a mere tradesman, or husbandman, at twenty-one years of age, without any knowledge or mental light, except what he obtains in acquiring these arts, is but half, perhaps not one-third or one-fourth educated.

The advocates for the exclusive use of any one of these schemes are manifestly in error. They betray a want of that discrimination which is derived from the rudiments of a sound and *general* education; and obviously show, that they are influenced by the prejudices of some one only of these three modes of education, or that they have not been trained in the wholesome discipline of any school.

Twenty-one years is the average life of man. All this time is occupied by the precarious and uncertain probations of minority for helpless infancy, and mental and animal growth. In this period the habits and character are inflexibly established, and are but seldom changed or modified in after-life.

To press upon the mind before maturity, all the instruction

and discipline it is able to receive, is of vital importance. It will be more apt to degenerate than improve afterwards. We soon contrive substitutes for labor and patient toil. If illiterate, we are too inert to learn; make a mark for a signature; blunder through life in mental darkness; with ample time and means for research; and excuse our ignorance by affectations of contempt for learning.

So that the imperious occasions for a suitable and appropriate education, in all these fundamental branches of knowledge, within the age of twenty-one years, is manifest. They must be obtained within that period of life, or they will, perhaps, never be acquired. The exceptions to this rule are so rare, and the facility with which genius seems to overcome the obstacles of ignorance and condition are so surprising, that the mind is led to the conclusion that there are but few who have faculties for advancement. If this be not a speculation; if it is a fact that there are no mental energies capable of progress and improvement, except those which exhibit these powers, the picture of human weakness and debility is humiliating, and the efforts of education are wasted upon ninety out of every hundred. There are, perhaps, more solid grounds for this conclusion to rest on than the vanity of man, and the reprobations of complacency which he is obliged to make, will concede. A candid and thorough scrutiny of this interesting subject might be regarded as invidious and uncharitable, but its statistics would be as curious as its results would be confounding to the vapid pride of the pompous majority.

Distinctions which are not founded in the elements and the useful fruits of education, but which rest upon their profession only, are artificial and pernicious. They inflate and puff up the pride, and encourage their possessors to insult modest worth. They pervert the legitimate purposes of knowledge and refinement from useful benevolence to selfish ostentation. Education should imbue the heart with humility, instead of arrogance. The latter too often characterizes the conduct of those who have graduated in the schools.

The ignorance and vanity of parents sometimes induce them to heap upon their children classical educations, which they have no mental powers to use. To this they add a learned profession, and start them out into the world to be pitied and jeered at. A day laborer holds an elevated rank compared with such a being.

If, to gratify his ignorance and vanity, a parent sees fit to spoil his own offspring, and render them ridiculous, there is no remedy for the evil; but this responsibility should not be assumed by the public. The risk is inevitable and large, if every individual between five and twenty-one years of age is invited into the free schools and colleges to be educated at the public expense.

There should be a reasonable certainty that the tree is of a stock that has borne good fruit, before the time and expense of its nursing and growth are incurred. Not that the same sort of tree has borne fruit, but that the tree from which that seed or root comes, has borne good fruit.

If it never has borne good fruit, it never will. There is many a scrubby bush and tree of the same name, which, if pruned, will spread and swell most proudly, but will bear no fruit.

The mental powers are like the moral propensities. If there is a natural predominance for evil, no act of goodness will ever be done, but from sinister motives; and if there be not sufficient intellectual taste and strength to grasp and control the engines of knowledge and science, no teaching or instruction will infuse these facilities into the mind.

These distinguishing great leading traits of human character are as certain and unerring with men as they are with brutes.

There is a race of donkeys with all classes of animals, for which no extra trappings or training was ever intended. The drollery of their hideous heads and slinking tails, their goblin ears, unearthly sounds, is always magnified in an exact ratio to their affectations of the rampant steed.

Universal education at the public expense is unlawful beyond its first rudiments for the purposes of business, and for those who are not designed for the professions, it is useless. An examination of this subject is proposed to be made as follows:—

1. The power to compel the people to pay taxes, for the schooling of any but indigent orphans, and the children of those who are unable to pay for their schooling.

2. Whether this can be enforced for their schooling beyond the age of thirteen for girls, and fourteen for boys; or at such age as they may be strong enough to be put to trades.

3. Whether this can be enforced for the schooling of children who are not poor, of any age.

4. The social or political consequences of the schooling of all persons, from five to twenty-one years of age, and turning them upon the world in multitudes, for employment and subsistence as mere scholars.

5. Whether schooling up to the age of twenty-one years improves the morals.

6. And if the nature and influence of legitimate education in all times given to poor children by society, in their guardianship, discipline, and employment, with its correlative and incidental power over youth, ignorance, laziness and crime, is not abundantly sufficient. Take Pennsylvania as an example.

The Constitution of Pennsylvania provides, Article VII. Sect. 1, viz:—

### “PUBLIC SCHOOLS.”

*“The Legislature shall provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis.”*

### “ARTICLE VII. SECT. 2.

#### “Of Seminaries of Learning.

*“The arts and sciences shall be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning.”*

“The poor” are “to be taught gratis,” and “the arts and sciences shall be promoted.”

These objects are made the subject of two different and distinct titles and articles in the Constitution, and are free from all ambiguity.

The obvious meaning of the second section is, that “the arts and sciences shall be promoted;” not that “the poor may be taught gratis.”

They do not mean the same thing, nor are they convertible terms. They are separate and distinct expressions, with independent objects, and different meanings and distinct designs.

“Seminaries of learning and the promotion of the arts and sciences,” are the expressions in some measure in contradiction to the language, “the poor may be taught gratis.” By the first is meant endowments for buildings, and contributions for the pay and support of professors, and the supply of astronomical and other scientific apparatus, such as are used in universities and colleges.

This is what is meant by the words "*the arts and sciences shall be promoted;*" and this is not what is meant by the expression, "*the poor may be taught gratis.*" These last words cannot obtain or receive any such interpretation as that which obviously belongs to, and was intended by, the words of the second section, "*the promotion of the arts and sciences.*"

"*The establishment of schools in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis,*" cannot mean to teach them "*the arts and sciences;*" because "*the arts and sciences*" are not directed to be taught to "*the poor,*" but they are directed to be "*promoted,*" not "*taught,*" "*in one or more seminaries of learning.*"

"*The Legislature shall provide for the establishment of schools, that the poor may be taught gratis;*" but they have no power given to them "*to provide for the establishment of schools*" for teaching "*the arts and sciences*" "*in seminaries of learning,*" not to be "*established*" by them, but such as should be established by other means.

"*Taught*" does not mean "*promote,*" "*taught*" is the participle passive of "*teach,*" and means to "*instruct,*" "*promote*" means "*to forward,*" "*to advance,*" "*to elevate,*" "*to exalt,*" "*to prefer.*" The definition of these words is wholly different, and their meanings in this Constitution are manifestly distinct, not only because they are not convertible terms, but because they have been used to express different objects, and are not used in the same sense.

There is an obvious distinction between "*instruction*" and "*forwarding, advancing, exalting, and preparing*" persons after "*instruction*" has been given to them. The Legislature have power to "*establish schools*" for instructing of "*the poor gratis,*" but they have no power to "*establish seminaries of learning,*" of any description, to "*teach the arts and sciences.*" Their authority in this is limited and confined to "*forwarding, advancing, exalting, and preferring seminaries of learning,*" the "*establishment*" of which, and the *teaching* in which is to be managed by other persons, and not by the functionaries of the law.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania have no more power to *establish seminaries of learning* for teaching "*the arts and sciences,*" than they have to "*establish*" a church; and any such establishment, such, for example, as the High-school at Philadelphia, where there is "*instruction*" given in "*the arts and sciences,*" by persons appointed and paid under legislative direction, is as open

and direct an infraction of the Constitution, as it would be to build a church, and appoint clergymen to preach, at the public expense.

The first movement made by this State, under the constitutional provisions before mentioned, was in 1809. Numerous grants and appropriations had, and since then have been made to "seminaries of learning for the promotion of the arts and sciences;" but no steps had been taken to establish schools, "to teach the poor gratis," until that year.

On the 4th of April, 1809, they passed an act (4 Smith's Laws, 73). It is intituled, "An act to provide for teaching the poor gratis." It requires township assessors "to ascertain the names of all the children between the ages of five and twelve, whose parents are unable to pay for their schooling;"—who shall be informed that they may go to the private schools;—the expenses to be paid by the County Commissioners, out of the public funds.

On the 3d of March, 1818, they enaeted a law (7 Smith's Laws, 52), reciting the words of the eonstitution, that "*the poor may be taught gratis.*" It makes a school district of the city and a part of the county of Philadelphia, with a board of comptrollers, who are authorized, at the public expense, to build school houses, and establish schools *for all the indigent orphan children; boys, between six and fourteen, and girls, between five and thirteen years of age,*" in said district;—who are to be in like manner aseertained and notified: the schools to be managed at the discretion of the eomptrollers, by such rules "*as shall not be ineonsistent with this act and the Constitution.*"

An act of March 27, 1819 (7 Sm. L., 206), provides, that four additional townships, whieh are named, may avail themselves of the same advantages, for the schooling of their "*poor children.*" These words, "*poor children,*" are twice used in this act.

In 1831 (7 Serg. & Rawle's Rep., 454), the S. C. reeognized this restriction of free schooling to "*the children of the poor.*"

In the same year, a commission of nine persons was raised by a resolution of the legislature (7 Sm. L., 451, N.), to investigate the eauses of pauperism in the county of Philadelphia, who reported at a subsequent session, that they were unable to

prosecute these inquiries, for want of proper information from the guardians of the poor.

On the 8th of April, 1846, a resolution was passed (Pamphlet Laws, 1825-6, page 4-6), requiring the commissioners of the counties, to report annually to the Legislature "*the number of poor children educated at the public expense.*"

An act was passed June 13th, 1836 (Pamph. Laws, 1836, page 525), "*To consolidate and amend the several acts relating to a general system of education by common schools;*" establishing and organizing several other school districts, and providing for teachers, and taxes to support them; and several acts were theretofore, and afterwards passed, extending "*free schools*" to other parts of the State, and indicating rules of direction, management, &c. ; but no change was made in the character or qualification of the beneficiaries.

On the 7th of April, 1849, an act was passed (Pamph. Laws, 1849, page 441), directing that "*every township and borough shall form a common school district;*"—organizing directors, with power to assess and levy taxes, build school-houses, and appoint teachers, "*for the education of every individual between the ages of five and twenty-one years, who may apply for admission.*"

By this recital it will be seen, that the only constitutional provision, and which is restrictive of all legislative authority, is, "*that the poor may be taught gratis.*"

That the first enactment used the words, "*children between the ages of five and twelve years, whose parents are unable to pay for their schooling.*"

That the words in the next act are "*for all the indigent orphan children, boys between six and fourteen years, and girls between five and thirteen years of age.*"

That the act next after this twice uses the words, "*poor children.*"

That the Supreme Court adopted this restrictive language of "*the children of the poor.*"

That in this connection, commissioners were directed to "*investigate the causes of pauperism;*"—and to report "*the number of poor children educated at the public expense.*"

And that no other interpretation or construction for fifty-nine years was put upon the words referred to in the Constitution, except to determine the ages within which "*the poor may be taught gratis.*"

That this was the definition of the word "*poor*," from the adoption of the constitution in 1790, retained as it was amended in 1838. That the understanding of the words, as to the character or description of "*the poor*" persons to "*be taught gratis*," was ascertained and determined in 1809, and repeated by the Legislature and the Supreme Court, for more than thirty years, to be "*children under the age of thirteen and fourteen years*;"—and that all the legislative, judicial and popular interpretations of this "*poor school*" power has been limited to "*children*" within these ages, "*whose parents are unable to pay for their schooling*;"—until in 1849, when the constitution, and all former laws on this subject are abolished, without any authority or suggestion from the people; and a "*common school*" system is established throughout the State;—\$200,000 of the public moneys appropriated thereto, with directors and comptrollers, authorized to levy taxes for buying lands and building houses, for supporting a "*sufficient number of schools, for the education of every individual between the ages of five and twenty-one years*;" and to confer academical degrees in the arts, as are now conferred by the University of Pennsylvania (Pamph. Laws, 1836, 527), is a humiliating commentary on the republican professions of contempt for titles! A more bold and arbitrary invasion of constitutional and judicial law was never perpetrated in a free country; and it may not excite the least surprise, that in less than seven months this luxuriant harvest-field should have stimulated the convocation of a self-constituted "*national assembly*."

These schools, at which "*the poor shall be taught gratis*," have been made a pretext for great wrongs.

The language is, "that the *poor* may be taught gratis."

The argument that any other person but a *pauper*, is intended by the word "*poor*," is absurd; the word "*teaching*," in this connection, means what is understood by "*victuals*"—that is, what is necessary, and no more.

This construction has never been denied; the effort has been to dodge and get round its truth by plausible and sympathetic appeals—to excuse, and not to justify the abuse.

The test of the constitution for admission to these schools, to wit: "*the poor*," is never put.

The result of its application would be a laughable curiosity.

The palpable inconsistency between the rule and the practice will be shown.

Take, for example, the county of Philadelphia for 1848. The children of all the paupers in the almshouse were with their parents, where they were kept at school, and bound out. None of these poor children were out of the almshouse. Only four hundred paupers received out-door aid from the Guardians of the Poor. These persons were all too old for, and they had no infant children.

During this same year there were kept in full operation in that county, two hundred and thirty-six free schools, to "*teach the poor gratis*," at which there was an aggregate number all the time of 40,290 scholars, at an outlay of \$202,614 27, for school-houses, and an annual tax of \$285,330 60, for the expense of "*teaching the poor gratis*"—more than all the other expenses of that county! This will be found to be a scholar at an annual expense of more than \$7 70 for each taxable inhabitant of the city of Philadelphia: and 4,538 scholars more than there were persons between the ages of five and twenty years, (35,752) by the census of 1841, in the city and county of Philadelphia.

Pennsylvania and Philadelphia are taken for examples. The same rules, it will be seen, apply to all the States.

No poor man ever asked for this; it is asked for by the lazy and the dishonest, and the political knaves who cringe and court them. The poor are abundantly provided for, schooled and bound out to learn pursuits of honest industry; they are not ignorant of their rights, or backward in demanding them; they have had no occasion to complain; nor have they ever found fault with the benevolent solicitude bestowed by the Poor House Guardians upon their children. In the United States, this charity is performed with parental and religious fidelity; the tear and the lisp of the pauper child finds a passport to every heart.

A member of the American Congress, some years since, in a debate upon, and in vindication of the free labor of the north, said:

That a pauper boy in Pennsylvania had been schooled and bound out from an almshouse to a farmer, afterwards became a school teacher, a surveyor, a prothonotary, a lawyer, a member and Speaker of the House of Representatives, and that he then was the Attorney General of that State.

It would have been superfluous if the speaker had added, that his pauper boy was a gentleman of the first rank, as a

scholar and a jurist, and that he had no cause to feel ashamed of, nor was he ashamed of his origin.

There is no lack of these pupils from the free schools of mind and industry, all over the country; none such from the free schools of extortion are now recollected.

Perhaps the legal test, "*children of the poor*," would have shut out every individual of this 40,290 persons, who unlawfully used and consumed, within twelve months, in Philadelphia, more than half a million of the people's hard earnings, and every cent of which has been extracted from them against law.

There is no legislative vote, or order of any County Board, or Board of County Commissioners, assessors or auditors, comptrollers or directors of schools—no affectations of benevolence or religion, that can sanction this flagrant disregard and violation of law.

It is not authorized upon the ground of a general power to legislate for the public good; for their authority as to this is not left open, but restrained by the express words of the constitution.

The notion that if this is not law, it should be, and that the end justifies the means, is a hypothesis as fallacious as it is audacious and false.

And the position may be fairly put and maintained, that a common school, such as is now established in Pennsylvania, is in direct violation of the constitution of that State, and of the first elements of the free institutions of the United States; and that if any of the constitutions of the other States contain express clauses for their establishment, such as is in the Pennsylvania statutes, they are void.

The States have all pledged themselves for the perpetual and inviolable toleration of religion. The constitution of the United States directs that "*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.*"

Congress has ruled that under this restriction it had no power to stop the Sunday Mails; and it necessarily follows, that any compulsory instruction, for improving or mending the morals, whether it be in school houses or meeting houses, is unlawful; and that there is no authority in the United States to force a tax upon the people for the support of a common church, or a common school, or any other place designed for moral instruction.

They may have an implied power to protect and promote the

arts and sciences, by patronizing seminaries where they are taught, as they have a right to protect and promote the purity of religion, by forbidding blaspheming; but they have no power to "make any establishment of religion," under the pretext of restraining profanity; nor to establish any schools for the amelioration or reformation of human depravity, and mending the heart, under pretence of teaching the poor.

They cannot compel any one to go to a church or a school; they cannot force any one to listen to, or receive instruction, moral or religious; nor can they force the people to pay for its "establishment."

There must be free toleration for both in the United States; and no authority exists, by direct or indirect means, to exact one cent from any man, for any purpose or object in this respect, except for the promotion of "*the arts and sciences in seminaries*," and "*the schooling of the poor*;" neither of which involves or embraces the abuse referred to.

It is therefore clear that there is no constitutional power anywhere given to tax the people for a common school for every individual from five to twenty-one years of age, for the mere purpose of improving their minds, without regard to their poverty, and to be used as the common schools are now used, for the schooling of all persons indiscriminately between these ages.

The health of the body is of as much importance to life, as the improvement of the mind. If a law was made providing for the establishment, at the public expense, of hospitals and conservatories for the accommodation of every sick and hungry individual, between the ages of five and twenty-one years, who may apply for admission, without any test of poverty, it would be as reasonable and just as this common school law, and would be no less in open contempt of the first elements of the social compact.

Both are agrarian, and both demand from society more than is necessary. This is all that the public is bound to do. They owe each other *necessary* support and protection, but no more. That which is not necessary is a luxury, which the public is not bound to pay for. Too much of this has been forced upon the people in other countries, and in the United States they have resolutely repudiated these oppressions.

If it is proposed by schools, not named and defined, for the poor, up to thirteen or fourteen years of age, to improve or change the heart; if the real intention is to produce moral and

religious influences and to make men better, then it is covertly and secretly designed for moral and religious instructions which cannot be suffered or allowed, directly or indirectly, in the United States.

The people of the United States have unanimously and resolutely declared that they will not be forced to pay one cent for moral or religious instruction, in any form or shape; and that this whole matter, in all its aspects and bearings, rests between God and the conscience, with which man has no concern, and shall not in any wise interfere or meddle.

The efforts for legislative inquiry into the moral influences of universal education, it is seen, have failed. Chief Justice Tilghman, who was a wise judge, and a pious Christian, in the case referred to (7 Sergeant & Rawle's Reports), said, in 1821, twenty-two years after the experiment had been fairly tried in Philadelphia upon more than twenty thousand children, under thirteen and fourteen years of age, that "*great sums had been expended*" for the schools, "*without producing the good that was expected.*"

In 1821 there were two thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine, in 1849, forty thousand, and in 1850, fifty thousand children in the free schools of Philadelphia. More than half a million have had this light profusely shed upon them, at the cost of many millions of the hard earnings of the people; by this time facts and irrefragable statistics demonstrating its moral utility ought to be produced.

It was hoped that this National Convention, composed of bishops, congressmen, and philanthropists, men of education, age, and wisdom, would have given the public this important information without being asked for it.

They sat four days, no reports were made, but they referred everything suggested to committees who have not been heard from.

Why did they omit to notice uncontradicted publications of great interest and magnitude? Should a National Convention shrink from research and scrutiny, and can it be credited, that this body of men might not have raised a committee, who in two days could have examined into, and made a full report upon the alleged advantages of this novel system of universal education?

They might have found in the "*Boston Recorder*," of 1844, this uncontradicted publication of facts:—

## “ INCREASE OF CRIME.”

“ Within forty years commitments for crime have increased in England from 5,000 to 31,000;—more than sixfold;—four times faster than the increase of population.

“ In Scotland, the increase of crime in the same period has risen from 89 to 3,884;—forty-three fold;—and has advanced twenty-five times faster than the population.

“ That this prodigious increase has occurred during a period of almost unbroken peace, amid great improvements in criminal legislation, and prison discipline too, and notwithstanding unparalleled efforts to diffuse education and religion, creates a problem of no easy solution.

“ It is stated also, that the prevalence of crimes in England is fourteen times greater than in France; that the educated criminals are to the uneducated as two to one;—facts like these demand thorough investigation: and strongly urge every pious mind to reflection and prayer.”

Is it possible that this warning was unknown to them; and that they considered it wholly unnecessary to notice the wise and appropriate police regulations, which the law has furnished in all times for discipline and education;—or that they did not recognize this wholesome and controlling power, by which juvenile delinquency is effectually cut up by the roots, so that no minor shall be without custody, guardianship, and education, and no adult without constant employment; and mobs, riots, torch-light processions, dram-shops, brothels, and gambling-hells wholly stopped?

Instead of invoking these legitimate and efficient elements of police power and duty, acknowledging their strength and purity, and constituting them as the groundwork and platform, upon which all plans for education should rest; and making an effort to define, explain, and improve them; their whole time was wasted in popular professions of philanthropy, theoretical schemes for national display, and for coaxing young vagabonds from the street into the shades of science, music, and poetry; not a word of wholesome restraint and discipline, necessary labor, trades, diligence, industry, personal maintenance, and provision for children and old age.

And although they were called on through the public press, to answer the following queries, not a word of reply is made, as to

1. "Whether education improves the morals ;—if knowledge is not power for the bad, as well as the good; and if education does improve the heart ;—if this is in proportion to the advantages imparted to the intellect.

2. "Whether, if education has produced mental improvement, it has not failed to improve the moral sense ;—and if, by imparting knowledge, it does not create or substitute caution or craft, in place of ignorance and impulsive depravity, producing no regeneration, but only changing the open perpetrations of crime to covert and fashionable subtilty.

3. "Whether free-school education has diminished pauperism, or convictions for crime !?"

Whatever future conventions in this respect may do to promote the true cause of education, it cannot be denied, that this convention was composed of persons who are the special advocates of the present scheme of universal free-schooling, up to the age of twenty-one years, in place of the other essential branches of education and instruction; and that their zeal for the auxiliary aid of national power, in measures exclusively for domestic supervision and local expense, is officious and uncalled for.

There were a few sincere and pious men amongst them, as there always will be in every convocation professing to aid the public weal; and there were a few such to the end, amidst the frauds that signalized the black and diabolical career of the chartered monopolies of 1836 and '40; in which more crime was committed than has been perpetrated by all the convicts in the United States since the Revolution.

It is said that man is born in sin, and brought forth in iniquity; that his moral conversion is as much a work of the Almighty, as his first creation ;—that the secret exercises of the heart are exclusively between the conscience and God ;—that man's wisdom tempts him to pride and vain-glory, and the invention of substitutes for the true causes of creation; that if there is any kind of education that will humble his stubborn spirit, it is religious instruction, which appeals to his affections; that the wise men of this world have not been examples of purity, and that millions have been regenerated under religious excitement, whose intellectual capacities were too weak to receive or retain the rudiments of human knowledge; and that education, with all its best appointments, does not change the heart, much less its natural propensities.

Who has forgotten the beautiful ode upon an Indian boy,

who was taken from his dead mother's breast, reared and educated with all the delicate refinements of civilized life, and graduated at the age of twenty, in one of the best universities of the country? After, when, although he had never seen an Indian, he embraced the feet of his pious benefactor, and obtaining leave to visit his native shades, was pursued, and found in the wigwam of his fugitive ancestors, far in the recesses of the western wilderness, tattooed, and girdled with his wampum and tomahawk, revelling in transports amidst the savage nudity and aboriginal barbarism of his tribe.

The heart is smitten down with humility and awe in the solemn contemplation of the high and unchanging law which fashions all things by an inscrutable will.

It would seem, therefore, to follow, that the present system of free education will not secure the attainment of moral or religious reformation. There is no historical evidence that knowledge from schools, and in the sense here meant, ever produced these results. It certainly will improve the mind, if judiciously blended with industrial instruction, but it does not control or constrain the conscience; it may make us more discreet and careful, but not more conscientious and pious; these reformations are accomplished by religious instructions.

The actual wants and necessities of life are few and simple; independent of the refinement suggested and made fashionable by civilized society, man would be as in the pastoral ages, living amidst the shades and rural employments of husbandry—his tent and mantle, his corn and cattle, would limit the entire range of his desires; and these supplies would be so productive and abundant in proportion to his wants, that his cares and labor would be rich and romantic recreations. The present organization of society has created wants so numerous and urgent, that the stock for supply is scarce and dear, and its procurement is made an object of secret and keen pursuit by millions, with the sharpest activity of wit, skill, labor, science, fraud, and violence.

To supply these impending personal necessities is a formidable and appalling work, from which the heart shrinks back with fear and distrust, and to embark upon which, with any reasonable prospect of honorable and successful competition, requires all the careful preparation which can be given to the physical and mental powers during the probation of minority.

This knowledge is not obtained exclusively in schools or from

books, but from domestic instruction. A child brought up in leisure, with all his wants supplied, may reach maturity indeed—may pass through life with an utter ignorance of the urgent occasions and special qualifications required for obtaining his own subsistence.

Personal exertions in this view, and as being essential to his animal existence, do not occur to his mind, and if wakened up to reality, he is confounded and amazed.

The first mental step to be taken in life is to acquire a knowledge of this fact, and then to prepare and fit the mind and body for its practical execution: to teach man what it means, and how to do it—this is a matter of policy and necessity, not morality or religion.

It is the first, most essential, and difficult task in life, to prepare and arm the mind and body both for this irksome and repugnant occupation, and for a patient and cheerful submission to the doom imposed upon man at his fall, that the ground should be cursed for his sake—that briars and thistles should grow up in his path, and that by the sweat of his face should he earn his bread.

So imposing is the magnitude of these obstacles to the performance of the necessary labors of life, that one-half of the human race now live by trick and violence off of the rest, and their numbers would be fearfully augmented if it was not from the dread of punishment. Every one can readily see and clearly understand the pressing necessity for an accomplished and thorough preparation for this unavoidable and painful journey; but the faculty of intimately feeling and sufficiently appreciating the true nature and character of this mental exercise, is most difficult and perplexing.

It would seem to require the necessary and practical presence of both the faculties of understanding and appreciating at the same time, to which must be added the simultaneous convictions of necessity, with a knowledge of the means for relief. The knowledge without the want, or the want without the knowledge, does not form this mental crisis; they must concur, or there will be no pungent and perfect appreciation.

This thought is beautifully illustrated by the thrilling revelations of David Copperfield (Dickens) who, at the age of ten years, timid, feeble, afflicted, and crushed by adversity, is placed on the lowest form of Doctor Strong's school at Canterbury, where the contrast between himself, and the advance-

ment and rank of the head boy, Adams, struck his mind with dread. He felt most keenly the occasion for, but utterly despaired of ever obtaining the position then enjoyed by Adams.

Passing up through all the courses of discipline and study, at seventeen, Adams is gone, and he has his place. He looks down upon a crouching, timid child, sitting in painful bewilderment upon his first form; and with all his earnest aspiration for moral and Christian sympathy, he is utterly unable to rouse or excite it, even with the pungent recollections of his first dreary hours in that school; he cannot feel for and appreciate the fluttering emotions which swell the bosom of his humble successor.

The exercises of his understanding alone, and not his feelings, were moved. His early excitements were fear, hope, and help; he could understand and appreciate all these, even at the age of eight or ten, most eminently, when it was for himself; but when the exciting emergencies, that had roused into action these vivid impulses, had subsided, and the mind was relieved from the pressure of its own fears and wants—the feeling, the sympathy, the power of appreciation had vanished, and would not return. The feeling could be excited by urgencies for himself, but not for another. The ability to understand, and the wish to feel are clear and distinct; but the power to feel was gone: nothing but necessity will bring it into practical activity.

It is the "*art and mystery*" to be learned by the apprentice in every trade and pursuit, the capacity to feel and do what cannot be explained; to appreciate his necessities, and the responsibility of providing for them. This is the primary object of all instruction, without which man is pushed into a busy world, as helpless and useless as a naked and hungry infant would be amidst the frightful agitations of a flood or a conflagration.

This intense sense of appreciating and blending knowledge, duty, necessity, and resolution, is alone the work of a practical education, and not of a school-house. The way to make good men is to make good boys. This is not to be done by coaxing them into schools, and keeping them there till they are twenty-one years old; teaching them the beauties of morality and the pursuits of religion: man must first be civilized and disciplined in the religion of supplying his own personal wants. To accomplish this, take him in his crude condition from the nursery to the school-room, at the age of five or six years, and there

commence the work of constraint, instruction, and discipline. Put no violence upon his mind or body; but force him to keep out of the streets, away from temptation, bad company, and evil examples; refresh him by wholesome keep and exercize; train him in the ways of mental reflection and useful knowledge; and by the time he is thirteen or fourteen years old, he will have acquired sufficient bodily and mental strength to be put into employment, by which he may learn some useful trade, gradually help to earn his own living, and assist to cheapen and increase, instead of enhancing the price, and diminishing the stock of public supply.

Give him time to study and to go to school at least one quarter every winter, and an opportunity thoroughly to obtain all the sciencee belonging to the oecupation he is learning. By this course of education, up to the age of twenty-one, if there is not more bad than good in his breed and blood, he will turn out to be an intelligent, thinking, and more useful man than the enervated and puffed-up graduate, who has occupied the whole of his minority in a free-school. If he has bad propensities, no education will ever change his nature; it may polish, and better fit him for trick and cunning; but it will not alter or reform the seeret impulses of his heart.

The first described graduate will carry his diploma in his mind, and can practically explain it; he will have a thoughtful, serious sense of the solemn fact that he now has to take care of and provide for himself in a world where millions struggle, in sharp and sucessful confliet, for all the gains and advantages in every pursuit of life. He will have learned the practical eapacity of entering into, and taking his part, in this wide and open field of fearful strife; how, if he fails in one effort, to begin another; how to control his appetites, his pride, and his wants; how to persevere in toil, endure exposure, self-denial, and poverty, and patiently submit to reproach and perseeution; how to maintain resolute and cheerful habits of industry, frugality, punctuality, and integrity in dealing; and how to be humble, thankful, and reverent to his Creator.

The other will be wholly ignorant of, and suddenly surprised to learn, that his pressing wants must be supplied by his own personal exertions; that he is hurried into a rude and selfish crowd, fiercely snatching from his grasp the necessities of life; that he is jostled, pushed aside, and sneered at; that his helpless powers and unskilled wits will be overreached and baffled,

by adroit and dexterous adversaries; that he will not have courage, patience, practical experience, or physical strength, to bear the drudgeries of labor, and the severities of poverty; that the way men earn their livings, and get houses and lands, and property, is by incessant toil and sweating work; that the employments of the scholar are secondary and subsidiary to the creative pursuits and productive occupations of society; and that about one educated man to every fifty or one hundred is enough; that schooling up to twenty-one years of age does not make mind; and that the practical education, here described, will most aptly fit the intellect, and prepare the genius for the profoundest researches of learning, knowledge, and science.

All these mournful realities will fall like the mildew of despair upon his ardent and blighted hopes; too late, alas, too late, to stanch the gushing sorrows of his broken heart.

The individual last described is the unfortunate graduate of a common school; and if his compatriots are multiplied by the threatened follies of these times, the multitude will literally require the hospitals and conservatories before referred to; and there can be no more sure or certain course to make them necessary than to encourage every individual, between the age of five and twenty-one years, to adopt the plan now proposed for spending his minority.

The well educated and independent nobleman first described has had his preparations for an honorable and useful life wrought out under wholesome and benign institutions, ordained by the wisdom of ages, for the appropriate protection of the virtuous and industrious from the arts and wiles of the wicked and the lazy.

The right of society to enforce a system of just and necessary police, upon all these domestic matters, lies with the primitive elements of the social compact.

It has for its basis the common wants and rights of all men; it blends its benevolent reciprocities with the most intimate necessities of life, and the brightest consolations of death; it lights up the rich and glorious sunbeams of time, and trims the golden lamp of eternity.

We have no right to compel any one to go to church, or to receive religious instruction; this is a cardinal rule of primary and natural liberty, resting with the conscience, the infringement of which has repeatedly bathed the world in tears and blood, and for the consecration of which the people of the

United States have pledged themselves by mutual and eternal covenants. But, inasmuch as society is bound, by its social compact, for mutual protection and support, it has an indisputable right to maintain a reciprocal security for these objects. It is bound to furnish a sufficient supply of food, raiment, and shelter, for its helpless and indigent members; and there is necessarily incident to this duty the correlative right to use and employ all lawful means for sustaining its power to fulfil that duty.

These means are moral as well as physical. They involve the right to forbid and prevent all acts which have a tendency to weaken or destroy the functions required for the performance of this obligation. Hence the right, independent of all religious considerations, to forbid and punish crimes; because, the direct consequences of crime are, to disturb and interrupt society, and thereby consume its time and diminish its moral powers and physical energies, and to wrong it out of its acquired means and stock for the public supply.

Society has the right, and it is its duty to compel every one who is able to support himself to do so by some honest and useful employment; because, if he will not support himself, his subsistence must come out of the earnings of those who do work; and every meal he eats diminishes the stock of subsistence, and increases the labor of those who earn and produce the supply.

Every man who does not earn his living, and is not fed and sustained off of the fruits or productive results of property previously acquired, is subsisted by the public; and this living off of others is accomplished by fraud, or obtained by bounty. If by trick or fraud, the act is criminal; the perpetrator is a swindler, and forfeits to the public his personal liberty, and is thereby rendered liable to its custody and control.

If his support is obtained as charity, by reason of inability to support himself, the public has a right to obtain from him any remuneration he is able to give by his own labor; and also to his personal custody, so as to make his support as cheap, and to render his labor as productive, as possible.

The obligation is reciprocal; he is just as much bound to support himself, and to aid society in the support of others who are in want, as the public is bound to support him, if he is in want. He can force them to help him if in need, and they can compel him to forego a part, or the whole of this help, by

his own labor or means, if he has them, for the benefit of others requiring assistance. The theory is plain and simple, and mutually equitable in all its bearings.

The divisions of labor demanded by the wants and required for the comforts and refinements of society, put in requisition a wide range of official, professional, commercial, artistical, and other employments which add nothing to the productive stock.

They minister to the wants and wishes rather than to the necessities of man, and cannot be dispensed with in any civilized community. The burthen is heavy on those who really create and produce the necessary supplies, and no means should be spared to lighten this load by a careful restriction of the numbers and emoluments of the supernumeraries.

The prices of produce and necessary supplies increase just as the disproportions with these two classes prevail; and whenever the latter exceeds its due and appropriate weight, the effort is made to balance the scales by the artificial and fraudulent employment of false and spurious currencies.

There cannot be too many farmers, growers of stock, miners, and manufacturers, nor too much encouragement given to their skill and industry; all this serves to increase and cheapen the necessities of life; but the accumulation of too many of those engaged in the non-productive employments of life decreases these productions and enhances their cost.

The proposed free schools will have a tendency to produce these pernicious redundancies. The refinements of society sufficiently encourage their increase, and they should be prevented by restraining the propensity to educate too many and too much.

Neither the public industry nor morals are promoted by coaxing "*every individual*," white and black, male and female, to learn things which they will have no opportunity to practice, and place millions in dependence, and diminish the public faculties for produce and supply.

To avert these calamities, the preventive policy of society should be enforced rigidly, without the least regard to misconceived notions of delicacy, or the slightest relaxation of its universal application.

Every habitation and person should be carefully registered, and placed under the strictest surveillance of township and ward police.

No honest man ever suffered in his reputation by a search

warrant against himself or his property, and he will be proud and rejoiced, if suspected or doubted, to establish his character for industry and integrity.

It is not the virtuous and honorable who murmur at this scrutiny; on the contrary, they invite and encourage these conservative measures of self-protection against drones and vagabonds.

Magistrates and guardians of the poor have the power, and it is their duty, to arrest all beggars, gamblers, prostitutes, vagabonds, criminals; all lazy and able-bodied persons, who do not work; all those who have secret means for subsistence;— all paupers, destitute and neglected minors, and all persons of both sexes, and of all ages and nations, who are unable or unwilling to be employed in some honest calling. They have the power, and it is their duty, to enter into every house within their ward, parish, or township.

They can go and search out the lawful means of subsistence of every person, whose conduct, condition, and behavior furnish reasonable ground to suspect that they do not live by honest means, and put them to the proof of a lawful livelihood; and if they are unwilling to vindicate themselves, and will not go to work at some proper employment, to commit them to prison as vagrants. If they are infirm and needy, to supply their wants, and give them shelter; and if they are neglected minors, to support, protect, educate, and bind them out to good places.

If these good and wholesome regulations were resolutely enforced, and rigidly imposed upon a second offence, there would be the following reformations:—

1. The streets would be clear of drunken, obscene, and revolting exposures.
2. The persons and property of society would be secure from violence and murder.
3. All gambling-houses, grog-shops, and brothels would be banished.
4. The weak, ignorant, lazy, and proud would have no encouragement or bad example.
5. The millions of the hard earnings, of which the honest are plucked and filched, by profligate living, reckless dealing, gaming in stocks, trade, banks, monopolies, and swindling, would be saved; and the boundless waste of money on prisons, refuges, almshouses, free schools, and corporations would also be saved, minus the inconsiderable outlay for bread and

water to the rabble ; and thousands of the pure and virtuous who are stricken down with poverty and disease, and who perish in want and obscurity, would be sought out, succored, comforted, and saved.

6. And myriads, from this refreshing discipline, would honestly reform, and go to work, or incontinently abscond to parts unknown ; or, if they remained, would be placed where their bad examples would not disturb the public, and they would be compelled to earn their own living. These wholesome elements of practical education and constraint would do more in one age to moralize, purify, refine, elevate, make learned, industrious, useful, rich, and religious, the young men and women, than all the free schools and their graduates can accomplish in fifty generations.

There is no sphere so important for mental education as childhood and home. Domestic authority should be pure, but as unyielding as patriarchal power. The parent and the master should know that temperance in all things, rigid habits of cleanliness, economy, and self-denial, contentment, resignation, and reverence of religion, are the essential elements of family-government, and he should never flinch from their unconditional enforcement.

Home is the only sphere where morals and religion are instilled into the heart.

These duties are much neglected from ignorance and inexcusable indulgence. Many who have had no opportunities of proper information marry early, become the heads of, and half bring up, families before they are themselves matured. Others yield to a spirit of censurable fondness for their offspring, which excludes all training, constraint, or instruction ; and others, from small beginnings, obtain wherewith for ease, and sometimes plenty, aspire to ape their more opulent neighbors in all their bad qualities, without having sense or discrimination to imitate their commendable habits.

They infer that, because they see the children of others dressed well, and in company, the way to make their own children genteel is to give them fine clothes and pocket money, and permit them to promenade the streets by day, and frequent places of amusement at night ; to slight and shun their equals, and obtrude themselves into the society of those they think genteel ; to neglect their trades, business, and education ; and to cherish a contempt for labor, restraint, and religion.

No respectable rich man would thus indulge his children ; and if he did, it would lead them to ruin. The instances of lads who, from these causes, have flunked at school, and from idleness and insubordination have left their trades, are almost without number.

What comes of the boy who, from thirteen to twenty, has not had fastened upon his mind the rudiments of a sound education, well grounded knowledge of some trade or employment, with habits of cheerful industry and pure morals ? Nothing but ruin.

It is the critical period when the character is formed, and if he does not obtain these advantages, and have them then firmly engrafted upon his nature, he will never get them, and there will be in their place, ignorance, presumption, vanity, idleness, impatience, and loose morals.

This state of the propensities seeks kindred association, leaves the mind open to the influences of temptations for drinking, mixing with tavern hauntings, fire companies, rowdies, becoming reckless, dissolute, and abandoned.

The present system of domestic discipline is in all these respects radically wrong. Persons under age are too much indulged, and allowed to be in the streets by day and night, chewing tobacco, smoking cigars, drinking, swearing, and bullying about at corners, engine-houses, whooping in the theatres, shooting and strolling over fields and meadows, treading down grass, and despoiling crops and gardens, and stealing fruit.

It would seem as if there were no more boys or girls—that now they were all men and women.

“ Among all the changes that mark the nineteenth century, there is no other so great as that in the use of the word *authority*. In the time of our fathers, the power of authority was understood and felt—the authority of the God of the Bible, of the husband, the parent, the pastor, the teacher, the law. Now, the feeling is so different as to tempt us to believe that those perilous times are come when men shall be lovers of their own selves—covetous, boasters, proud blasphemers, disobedient to parents, heady, high-minded. Influence has come to be all—authority nothing. The son expects to govern the father—the daughter the mother. The rod of discipline is thrown away, and the scholars govern the schools. Even in the administration of justice, the same spirit leads jurors to follow their own notions in spite of the law ; and the sacred bonds

of matrimony are coming in certain quarters to be despised. Established usage, which our fathers were wont to venerate, is almost regarded as proof of error. The leeturer would by no means be understood to say that there was no good connected with the movement. Doubtless some old things that were bad have been done away. But some laws there are that ought to be venerated. Woe to that spirit which rushes on in pursuit of its own devies, regardless of *all* aneient wisdom and of *all* legitimate authority."—*Bishop Hopkins.*

Disobedience, rebellion, and laziness of apprentices are absurdly countenaneed by the courts. For appropriate and necessary correetion, judges and juries conviet and punish masters for assaults and batteries.

Respectable persons are deterred from taking apprentices, for, as soon as they have obtained a glimpse of their trades, the slightest pretext is made to vacate the indentures, or they are eneouraged to abscond, cheat their masters out of the balance of their time, and set up for themselves, but half learned.

Hence the swarms of lazy, extravagant, and bad workmen all over the country. They live too freely, and work too little: cannot make full wages, and strike, hold brawling meetings, and agitate the community with ridiculous clamors about the rich and the poor, liberty and oppression, freedom, slavery, and aristocracy.

The country is overrun with men and women at maturity, wholly unwilling and unqualified for the duties and responsibilities of life—not prepared or willing to creep before they walk; to begin as their parents started in the world, patiently, cheerfully, and thankfully; to economize, save, and work hard, till, by persevering industry and frugality, they have obtained a foothold, and made for themselves a legitimate position in society.

They revolt at these reasonable and necessary probations, covet the better condition of others, chafe their tempers by absurd projects and impracticable hopes, and impiously disdain their fate. They shift and shirk, and vacillate from place to place, soon fall off into settled habits of wickedness, and become confirmed in vice and sin.

This neglect to educate and properly discipline the young prevents early and suitable marriages—the true and rational policy of life.

Men and women are designed and fitted in all their sym-

pathies for each other. They are never contented, unless honorably united, and it is a reproach to the community to allow any obstacles to this heaven-intended union of the sexes.

Men, and sometimes women, carelessly and dissolutely brought up, have their loose propensities as well gratified by remaining single. They have no relish for the retirement and faith of marriage, and prefer the novelties of a single state.

Neither man nor woman thus brought up is fit for the sober fidelities of matrimony. They are too fond of change and variety—not domestic, industrious, and saving. Their desire is for company and rounds of pleasure, instead of the settled quiet of home and labor. When such persons get married, or one such to a well brought up and properly disposed person, it generally turns out badly: for mutual fitness, industry, and economy are as essential elements of matrimony as chastity and truth.

Humble men, who begin the world with limited intercourse with it, and whose children have been encouraged to press themselves into the company of those above them, adopt the mistaken notion that the criterion of respectability consists in showing off all these extravagancies, and thus acquire a familiarity with idleness, and the wanton use of luxuries in dress and pocket-money, which their actual means and circumstances will not justify.

Every nerve is strained to keep up these indulgences, to get a daughter off into what they suppose is a good marriage, or a son into a genteel position.

From these and similar causes, prudent men are deterred from marriage, and women of similar discretion also act upon the same principle.

Thousands of men and women, who but for this might have taken honorable caste in society, and been happy and honorably married, wander about unsettled, precarious in reputation, and wholly useless to themselves and society.

The effect of this loose and reckless mode of education has been as pernicious to girls as boys.

Girls are now but seldom taught to regard an entire practical knowledge of the details of housewifery as essential qualifications for a wife. On the contrary, they have masters for singing, music, dancing, French, &c.; are encouraged to avoid house-work, and to consider it filthy and degrading to do it; and are

brought up wholly ignorant and averse to what they should know, and superficially instructed in that which is not only useless, but certain to make them lazy, haughty, fretful, and worthless. Music and dancing are not very often given to young females with any serious intention of qualifying them as teachers, nor with any view to improve the taste or refine the judgment, and they are not so used, but they are often and very erroneously used to attract the attention of giddy young men who place no value on them.

Not one woman in ten thousand adopts music or dancing for a living, or shows that her manners, her mind, or her heart has been improved by them. Some dozen, perhaps, within the last fifty years, have obtained popularity as public singers and dancers, but it is an ephemeral distinction which no respectable gentleman would covet for his wife or daughter.

They are precarious and uncertain occupations, with licentious and sensual exposures.

They cost much valuable time, and are seldom blended with the fireside employments of home.

Few women have composed one bar of standard music, or made or contrived anything new or important in any art or science. Whenever they have attempted it, they have abjured the charms of wife and mother.

Their minds, tastes, and propensities were not designed for these spheres of action, and it is as absurd and unreasonable to push upon or exact these efforts from them as it would be to enlist them for active service in the army or marine.

They are intended for occupations infinitely more refined and essential for the morals and security of society.

In their proper sphere, if they are appropriately prepared and encouraged, they obtain greater elevation than man can in his occupations; and it is ridiculous and cruel to withhold from them the means of a competent and thorough knowledge for the fulfilment of their high and glorious destiny.

Boys are accomplished, without regard to expense, in every branch of science necessary to fit them for their intended business; and why not give a girl the same chance?

If a lad is intended for a learned profession, he is not only drilled in all the elements of that particular science, but he is taught the ancient and foreign languages, by which to find out the learning of others in his art in all times past. Why not give his sister the same opportunity for the inevitable and com-

plicated duties of wife and mother? She is professedly educated for these solemn functions, and not for cloistered celibacy.

Why is she, by the bad taste or ignorance of her mother, exposed to absurd displays of extravagant dress, awkward performance upon a piano or guitar, or of a mimic squall of some vagrant singer; to gallopade in a public ball-room, for all which she may entertain great disgust, to obtain proficiency in which requires long and patient labor, which may be hateful to her suitors, and which an intelligent and respectable husband might not regard as a necessary accomplishment?

Is it not wonderful that parents can regard these frivolous and equivocal accomplishments as recommendations for their daughters? and, is it not to be supposed that a prudent man wanting a decent wife will be deterred by such repulsive overtures? that his own good sense will admonish him to avoid such matrimonial undertakings? If he is a prudent man, rich or poor, he will avoid the proposal; if he is so thoughtless and indiscreet as to be drawn in by such deceptions, he is not worth having.

Mothers do not want their daughters married to worthless men who cannot support them; and they should not judge so meanly of their daughters, or of their suitors, as to show their daughters up by fine dress and display.

They should know that young men of intelligence and respectability compare the personal and domestic qualifications of their intended wives with their recollection of the virtues of their own mothers; and that propensities at variance with these just and virtuous attributes of the female character will be shunned.

That every discreet man, in pursuit of a wife, will recollect the cheerful, prompt, quiet, unseen, and patient industry of his home, the well-aired apartments, clean lodgings and wardrobe, punctual and refreshing meals, welcome home times, happy greetings in health, and quiet vigils and tender watching in sickness.

So constant, serene, mysterious, heavenly, that its silent contemplation with every man who has a heart brings forth tears of pious joy.

The mother and the daughter who think that men are not to be judged by these standards, but by their licentious appetites, are prepared for stratagems, and treat their intended husbands as if they were not gentlemen.

How many thousands of honest women have been doomed to lonely wretchedness by these cruel and scandalous exposures ! or, when married, have, in shame, deplored their unfitness for domestic life, and have been compelled to submit to the severe humiliation of learning their duty after marriage !

A girl should be adequately skilled and thoroughly practised in every branch of housekeeping, from the trimming of a lamp and the kindling of a fire to the genteel reception and entertainment of the friends of her husband and herself. The necessary supplies for her pantry and her kitchen—their prices, qualities, preservation, appropriate use and combinations ; the quality, value, use, and care of all the culinary utensils, furniture, linen, and bedding, together with all the chemistry required for the scientific management and execution of her cooking, baking, and washing ; with enough of geography, grammar, history, and things in general for reading and conversation.

She should be taught to cherish and maintain a sweet temper and industrious habits, and to be a good mistress and house-keeper ; to be content with her home ; to be a loving wife and pious mother.

Every girl should be well tried, and carefully disciplined in all these essential elements of her destiny, without which marriage is a perjury, and married life is a fraud ; with which it is honorable in all things, fills up more blanks, lights up more stars, secures more peace, gives more joy, and approaches nearer to the raptures of heaven than all other earthly felicities combined.

O, ye that are thus blessed, be charitable to the lonely and forsaken wanderers from the paths of virtue and religion !

Without hope, they sigh for and gaze in anguish on your paradise, as the first garden was looked back upon by its smitten down and cast out fugitives.

The entire system of education involves the whole range of man's existence and control from the time he first germs until death. All require care, subsistence, instruction, constraint, and punishment.

In the last branch of this great code of necessary discipline, there has ever been the most inexcusable and gross relaxation.

Under the plausible pretensions of philanthropy, morbid sympathies, fanaticism, and ignorance have had full play.

Necessary restraints and imperious moral vindications have

yielded to ridiculous substitutes, the jest and laughing-stock of criminals.

Human nature is made up of all the grades of virtue and vice, from the natural ruffian to the pure saint, from man made in the intellectual image of God down to the brute.

They must therefore be treated as they are found ; and any management not adapted to this assortment of character is wholly useless.

All intelligent men agree that an efficient compact for their security is essential to the existence of organized communities. And as incident to this contract, it is as necessary that the helpless should be protected as that the strong and predatory should be restrained. The first cannot be sustained without keeping off the other.

There can be no useful education without religion. We fear not each other or ourselves, but we fear God. And, if the mind, when tender, is deeply and solemnly imbued with religion, the worth of moral subjugation is begun.

Impressions of right and wrong are then made upon the unpoluted soul of a child, which no temptation can overcome. They enter into, and are engrrafted upon, his nature.

It is very seldom that a child who has had a proper domestic, moral, and religious education, who has been to church and tenderly trained, carefully watched, and kept out of wicked company, and away from evil examples, turns out bad.

He is not seen drinking and smoking about corners, swearing and shouting at theatres, running and fighting with fire companies, in riots, watch-houses or prisons.

Everything connected with religion seems to prosper and flourish.

Much sin has been committed in the name of religion.

Jews, Pagans and Christians, each in their turn, have drenched the earth with blood in the name of religion. But this does not militate against true religion ; it only exposes the wickedness of those who profane religion.

In the United States, where all religious persuasions are tolerated, there has been no opportunity to use it for political purposes ; and there have ceased to be any public abuses under its sanction. Its prosperity has been unexampled.

The different sects have forms, governments, and ceremonies suited for every prejudice and taste, and at every corner and turn throughout the land, there is a temple for public worship.

The eagerness for religious instruction exceeds the supply of teachers; and there are more preachers of the Gospel, wholly dependent upon the people for patronage and support, than there ever has been in any other country.

They have no earthly incentive but the approbation of their hearers.

Their labor and devotion are extraordinary.

There is nowhere a class of men so blameless and pious.

Instances of improper conduct or lack of zeal are few, and religion unaided by law is more pure, more universal, and more fashionable, than where it is forced upon the people.

There is nowhere so much valuable pulpit teaching and pure piety as there is with the people and their clergy in the United States.

The doctrine of legal religion has been by this toleration triumphantly refuted. Religion is too pure to be touched or used by human laws or their functionaries.

Religion has been less helped, and done more good in the United States than in any country.

The Methodists have retrieved and saved millions of abandoned wretches, and raised them from the lowest depths of infamy to honest and honorable reformation.

All avarimony has been subdued, and conventions and associations of different persuasions are extensively formed for the universal diffusion of Gospel knowledge.

To those who have witnessed the state of the churches in Europe, and compared them with this country, it would seem that here the Millennium had really begun.

The freedom of the churches removes all occasion for disputes upon doctrinal questions, which are never listened to with complaisance, and leaves open for their ministers the broad field of repentance and faith.

Sermons most diligently prepared, profound and learned, by men of great talents and genius, are most eloquently preached, with extemporaneous devout and fervent prayers in every part of the country.

All the denominations have theological schools and colleges, and vie with each other in the competent education of their ministers.

No one can spend his Sabbath-day to more profit and advantage than by listening to the splendid and eloquent productions of these accomplished orators and profound scholars.

There never has been a people favored with so much light and learning from the pulpit.

The man who can hear these sublime lessons without feeling devout homage, who can listen to these beautiful and precious elucidations, and scoff at religion, is indeed a fool.

Throughout this free and glorious country, every Sabbath throngs the churches numerously with men, and with all the women and children, clean, healthy, cheerful and respectable in all their appointments.

The morning dawns upon the prayers and songs of millions of these blessed babes, early from their slumbers, leaping to the Sunday schools, where the first elements of learning and the Holy Scriptures are zealously inculcated till the hour for worship.

Who has witnessed the beautiful exercises and the long and interesting processions of these innocent children, from their school-rooms to the church, without a fervent prayer in holy faith that they may be preserved from the pollutions of this sinful world? And who has seen that hope blighted?

Scroff at Religion!!! It is

*“The fool hath said in his heart there is no God.”*

Ask these intelligent Sabbath-school children what is the meaning of religion, and they will calmly and rationally tell you that to love God and hate sin is to secure peace here and hope hereafter.

Follow them to maturity, and mark their settled habits of patient and honest industry, their thrifty gains, their temperate and peaceful lives, and their reasonable expectation of a blessed immortality beyond the grave.

Pure and undefiled religion is the source and fountain of all knowledge and virtue, the corner-stone of every government.

No man can justly claim the respect and confidence of his family and his fellow men, unless his religious conversation and deportment demonstrate to the world that he is worthy of the countenance and confidence of his Maker.

There can be no morality, private worth, or public safety without religion; and the man who derides the Bible, the holy Sabbath and religion, is worse than a heathen. He banishes the fears of the sinner and encourages wickedness. He strikes away the foundations of the hopes of the true believers, and blurs and blights all that restrains crime and rewards virtue.

## CHAPTER II.

### MANNERS.

Not always index of the heart—Intimacies—Strangers—Deportment—Confidence—Singularity of speech or manners—May choose our own company—John Randolph—Jefferson—The art is simple—It is to be unaffected—Sexes—Marriage—Some covet society above them—True standard, learning and virtue—All talk too much—Friends should be few—Proper restraint—Good for all—Matrimony best society—Should be general—Distinctions—Orders—Bad motives—Idleness—To buy and sell on credit—To live extravagantly—Large houses—Insolvency—Public stock of supply not enough—Productive labor certain source of riches—Wrong to speculate in trade, or live on it—No law can excuse from paying debts without explanation—Or force creditors to allow debtors tools, furniture, and \$300 worth of property—If this should be so, let the public do it, and not creditors—It opens doors to defraud creditors out of \$300 as often as it is spent, and that amount can be obtained again—Travelers—Ignorance and neglect—Skill in science, &c.—Morality—Taxes on churches, colleges, graves, &c.—Taxes of England—Tariff protection to labor, &c.—Religion, &c.

THE habits and manners are not always an index of the heart.

Some are judged proud because they are naturally timid, quiet, and reserved; others as haughty, because they are watchful, cautious, and shy amongst strangers, when they may be as liberal and benevolent as those of polished speech and ready intercourse.

Nor is the use of singular words, or pronunciation, or apparent awkwardness of behavior, evidence of ignorance, vulgarity, or carelessness towards the feelings of others. Such persons, in their own circles, may hold a consistent position, have appropriate caste, and be distinguished for hospitality and benevolence, while the conventional manners of others, according to their prejudices of education, might appear to be frigid and ridiculous affectations of kindness and good breeding.

Every one has an unquestionable right to choose his own

company. No one is at liberty to be dissatisfied because his society is not desired; the rule is reciprocal; if this was not so, we might force ourselves upon others against their will, and be obliged to submit to the same obnoxious annoyance from them.

The occasions for business, accidental meetings, and introductions of mere ceremony, supply impromptu all the requirements for casual intercourse, and leave the parties to their option for future recognition without any breach of good taste.

Hasty intimacies are unnecessary and indiscreet. They place the parties in false positions, and expose them to censure and suspicion. All proper decorums and courtesies may be consistently maintained without the reciprocations of personal disclosures.

A departure from this simple rule of discretion comes from the irrestrainable propensity that some have to talk incessantly about themselves; a practice that betrays great egotism, ignorance, and vulgar breeding.

It is said that John Randolph knew more men than any man living, and gave to all a free and cordial greeting, according to their sphere and condition; but that there was but one person on earth who ever had his confidence, and that was his mother. This ready and singular expert in the natural philosophy of human nature was never known, in his personal intercourse, to trifle with the prejudices or sensibilities of any one, and yet his apparent manner was somewhat severe.

“It was this readiness which made John Randolph so terrible in retort. He was the Thersites of Congress—a tongue-stabber. No hyperbole of contempt or scorn could be launched against him, but he could overtop it with something more scornful and contemptuous. Opposition only maddened him into more brilliant bitterness. ‘Isn’t it a shame, Mr. President,’ said he one day in the Senate, ‘that the noble bull-dogs of the administration should be wasting their precious time in worrying the rats of the opposition?’ Immediately the Senate was in an uproar, and he was clamorously called to order. The presiding officer, however, sustained him; and pointing his long, skinny finger at his opponents, Randolph screamed out—‘Rats, did I say? mice, mice.’”—*E. P. Whipple.*

This was the result of great firmness, independence, and maturity of thought; for, although he would not contradict or debate in private conversation, he maintained a resolute, but

respectful denial of whatever he held to be false or in bad taste; and if his sense of respect for himself was invaded, he distinctly and promptly resented the affront. He did not conform to the princely refinements of Chesterfield, nor the shining accomplishments of the Count d'Orsay; but there was in his bearing all the delightful pleasantry of Lafayette, the polished wit of Franklin, the winning seriousness of Jefferson, the brilliant intellectuality of the younger Adams, and the independence of Washington.

While these may be regarded as models of good taste and refinement, it is not expected that every one can imitate them.

Few have had occasion to consult so much circumspection, or have been so much in the fashionable world as the persons referred to, but every one has judgment and discretion sufficient to see that, as a matter of self-respect, and to avoid prejudices against himself, it is his policy to maintain towards strangers the most exemplary and unaffected simplicity of speech and deportment; to avoid contradiction, vain and superecilious behavior, and on no account to speak of himself, or anything that concerns his private affairs; to listen, not talk; not to say anything against any one, or call in question the motives, persuasions, and conduct of any one.

The propensity of the vain is to attract attention amongst strangers. They assume a pompous air, affect to be wise and grand, dress foppishly and extravagantly, talk loudly to each other in personal and ambiguous abstractions, and generally make themselves not more conspicuous than ridiculous, whereas a true gentleman or lady will carefully avoid all such vapid exposures.

The art of being genteel and civil is simple and easy. It requires a small amount of the forbearance to others that we constantly impose upon ourselves. We wander over the world in rigid self-denial, and voluntarily subject ourselves to every exposure and privation for wealth and fame; and may we not to others yield a modicum of love?

It may not be said that this circumspection will mar social intercourse, for no safe or comfortable personal interchanges can be had without them, and it is far the better that there should be no intercourse than that which makes trouble.

The stringent exercise of these rules proceeds from the erroneous and mistaken delusion that the standard of our merits is above that of others.

Where there is no crime or vulgarism, this is a dangerous and unjust conclusion. No man is bound to hold any intercourse with those of bad habits, or with one who is profane, coarse or filthy, but if free from these objections, it is absurd and selfish to hold ourselves above them.

A neglect of these wholesome regulations with strangers oversteps the limits of the occasion which brings us together, and turns the interview into an embarrassing effort by one or both for abrupt sociability; and if the spasmodic feeling is not mutual, one plays the blockhead, while the other suffers an obstruction. A man is no more bound to have his time and his thoughts obtruded upon by untimely, prolonged, and unwished-for visits, than he is required to have his house or his table thus abused. And, to hold one by the button in the cold or the rain, and press upon him an uninvited colloquy, is as rude as to push him from his right seat at a public place, or to jostle him in the street, or to puff cigar-smoke into his face.

There is with some an itching and ridiculous inclination to make the society of those they think above them. If this advantage be wealth, they may be mistaken.

Nothing is so uncertain as the reputation of being rich. If we are sure the person is rich, it is degrading to bow to money.

If it be learning, morals or intellect, there may be a like mistake; and if not so, we may seek that which we cannot appreciate. The secret of all good breeding is, to press no man for his conversation, and suffer no one to annoy us. Inter-course is not so essential as is supposed; there is too much of it; and hence come strife and bickerings. Out of the circle of our familiar friends, we should not be so free, nor permit others to be so with us, as to exceed the limits of appropriate conversation upon indifferent subjects, or of such matters as properly belong to the occasion.

There are topics of general interest that may be run over and adverted to, to preface business and precede departure, but further is wholly unnecessary.

We all talk too much. We should think twice and speak once, and keep a bridle on our tongue. This is a dictate of discretion.

With our friends be free and unreserved, but even to them be merciful, and let them not be deluged by words and gabble.

There is, perhaps, no habit that so soon exposes ignorance, or lack of knowledge, as a propensity to talk too much; to pun,

or joke, or jibe, contradict, criticise, or sneer at what others say or do; nor anything that excites so much disgust as habitual filth or intemperance in language, liquor, and tobacco.

Every man's correct sensibilities, cleanliness of person, delicacy and taste, are his property, his own prerogative; they belong to, and are essentially and exclusively his personal franchise, and no one has any more right to invade them, or disturb or interrupt him in their peaceable enjoyment, than to intermeddle with his wardrobe, or his wife and children.

No one can ask excuse, or claim ignorance of this plain rule of common law, acknowledged by all the world.

An omnibus-boy will chide the impertinent obtrusion of a passenger by the rebuke, "*That man don't want to talk to you. Let him alone, or leave the coach.*"

In private life, at a ball or other place of amusement, no one, without an open disregard of propriety, may break the delicate crust of non-acquaintance without introduction, unless specially for business or just excuse; and with females, the rule requires her previous consent.

It may be asked, how anything can be more just, reciprocal, and fair? It creates no obstacles to proper acquaintance; on the contrary, it guards, purifies, and secures all the streams of social intercourse.

Every one has an undeniable right to husband, and make the best possible use of, his intellectual and social capital, just as if it were money or any other thing of value.

If, in an honorable way, we can obtain the acquaintance and confidence of those whose learning and influence may better and improve our condition, it is as legitimate and laudable as to use harmless and lawful means to attract the public patronage to our occupations and pursuits.

The careful and skillful employment of these judicious precautions leads individual enterprise in every path to the most substantial and permanent results; and when discreetly and delicately appropriated to the preliminaries of marriage, in the happy concurrences of age, family-blood, education, taste, and fortune, there is a capital in the copartnership which never rusts or wastes.

What fruitions must inevitably attend such propitiations, when heterogeneous mating blooms in glory!

These chaste and wholesome rules for social safety are sometimes superseded by incidents that excuse their use. For ex-

ample, parties who know that they are known to each other, or from good cause assuming mutual wishes for acquaintance; but as a general rule, there should be no breach of well-settled decorums. They contribute too largely to the comforts and safety of society to be trifled with.

They are not intended to rebuke the honorable desire for social intercourse, but to encourage its legitimate increase and diffusion; to conform its exercise and spread to laws, which will secure confidence and mutual respect. On the contrary, there is too little safe and lasting sociability for lack of a sound currency. The mediums of exchange are at heavy discount, and often spurious and counterfeit. Unless there is some voucher, some introduction, we fear to take for good each other's coin.

Let the currency be sound, and bear upon its face the stamp and certainty of truth, and its bright and virgin purity delights the hearts of all.

Let these wise and simple rules govern. Abridge the cursed love for gain and glory; diminish the useless and gaudy pageantries of houses, furniture and dress; devote more time to intellectual culture, refreshing exercise, social intercourse, kindness and love; conspire to drive off temptations, vice, and anger, to blend labor with cheerfulness, and gladden life with harmless mirth and joy.

There is a proper regard for all the formalities of life well understood and prudently observed by all discreet and sensible persons. True benevolence and good manners demand from every one kindness and courtesy, but no more.

*“The powers of the human mind are of greater extent than is generally imagined. He who, either from taste or necessity, exercises them frequently, soon finds that the highest felicities of which our nature is capable reside entirely within ourselves. The wants of life are, for the greater part, merely artificial. Had we courage to seek our happiness in ourselves, we should frequently find in our own breasts a greater variety of resources than all outward objects are capable of affording.”*

“A long life may be passed without finding a friend in whose understanding and virtue we can equally confide, and whose opinion we can value at once for its justness and sincerity. A weak man, however honest, is not qualified to judge. A man of the world, however penetrating, is not fit to counsel. Friends are often chosen for similitude of manners, and therefore each palliates the other's failings, because they are his own. Friends

are tender and unwilling to give pain, for they are interested, and fearful to offend.”—*Dr. Johnson.*

Confidencee exclusively belongs to our real friends, to those identified with our fortunes; benefactors, parents, brothers and sisters, wives and children. These should be our household gods; their fate and ours are linked together, they cannot break our eords of love without cutting theirs asunder: they are of our blood, and the tie should be preserved with bright and saered faith.

When these affeetions are absent, there are no kind or amiable feelings left. No mercy, no charity, no love.

In all these essential elements of mental and moral philosophy, the women far exel the men. They are not so morose, avarieious, and intraetable; they are more unaffected, sineere, chaste, loyal, temperate, and domestie; they seldom err if untempted and not misled by the other sex.

And if all the courts, eleetions, political festivals, and other publie meetings and private convocations of the men were so conduced that their mothers, wives, and daughters might delight to witness them, there would be an end to drunkenness, smok-ing, riot and murder.

*Again.*—Bad manners consist not only in rude deportment, conduet, and eonversation, but in the dishonest motives and unjust intentions and purposes of the heart.

“*The Worthless Poor.*—Not every one that begs is poor; not every one that wanteth is poor; not every one that is poor is *poor indeed*. They are the poor whom we private men in charity, and you that are magistrates in justicee, stand bound to relieve, who are old, or impotent, and unable to work; or in these hard and depopulating times [1623] are willing, but can-not be set on work; or have a greater charge upon them than can be maintained by their work. These and such as these are the *poor indeed*: let us all be good to such as these. But we that are private men as brethren to these poor ones, and show them mercy; be you that are magistrates as fathers to these poor ones, and do them justiee. But as for those idle, stubborn, professed wanderers, that can and may and will not work, and under the name and habit of poverty rob the *poor indeed* of our alms and their maintenance, let us harden our hearts against them, and not give to them; do you exeeute the sev-erity of the law upon them, and not spare them. It is St. Paul’s order—nay, it is the ordinance of the Holy Ghost, and we should

all put to an helping hand to see it kept; *he that will not labor let him not eat.* These ulcers and drones of the commonwealth are ill worthy of any honest man's alms, of any good magistrate's protection."—SANDERSON'S *Fourteen Sermons*, p. 107.

It is bad manners to be lazy, idle, useless, and without a good cause; not to be engaged in some pursuit, productive to ourselves and society; and to run in debt.

These derelictions are no more excusable than any other wrong, because they are done by others, and are fashionable.

To live expensively or carelessly, because others do so, and to say that it is uncomfortable to live with dry and stringent economy, when the means are at hand for free and liberal indulgences when we are in debt, is also bad manners.

And it is also bad manners for tradesmen and mechanics to increase their style of living according to the means within their reach, without the least regard to a rigid calculation from day to day of the proportion which their disbursements bear to their profits.

They involve themselves in a course of extravagant living, which requires constant and dead expenses, without regard to what this may lead to; and without any certain source of dependence to fall back upon, if it is not met by their business.

Large houses, with costly furniture, servants, entertainments, conveyances, traveling and fashionable dress, jewelry, and plate are bought, and a style of expensive living is permanently started on credit, or paid for with business funds not laid by, without the slightest regard to whether this indulgence can rest upon the basis of sure profits and certain collections.

The result is speedy ruin, murmurs about uncollected debts, and the false and imprudent assertion that a failure in business is evidence of enterprise, without which no trade can prosper.

Then come the shameful subterfuges of bankrupt releases, insolvent protections, perjured concealments, fraudulent exemptions, and unlawful protections of property.

There is not one broken mechanic or tradesman in ten thousand whose failure cannot be directly traced back to his profligate expenses of living, and his reckless and censurable sales on credit.

The passion is to push business; to make large sales on time, without proper caution, to distant and unknown and improper persons; to swell and inflate business; to count up and com-

pare purchases with sales, and draw on the nominal balance as if it were in bank; when this flattering and visionary result is mere figures, to which should be added thousands of the unpaid liabilities for the goods purchased, which never may be realized. No honest man will thus trifle with the rights of his creditor.

Meantime, habits of living and affectations of high life are indulged in, which exactly correspond to the propensities and appetites of the dissolute and successful gambler.

Without the slightest pretensions to education or refinement, with the coarsest propensities, ignorance and low breeding, and vulgar connections and associates, they presumptuously and vainly attempt to copy the style and imitate the habits of respectable persons.

The gross inclinations with which they began life are increased and aggravated. The little of industry and decency of character they ever had is blunted and banished by depraved indulgence.

No man of stern integrity and pure honor will ever engage in mere speculations, depending upon uncertain and perilous contingencies, without capital. No prudent or discreet man will do so, even with sufficient capital to back his adventures.

The ordinary pursuits immediately connected and identified with the wants and necessary occasions of society are not speculations.

The produce of grain and stock of mechanics, manufacturing, commercial interchanges and trade, and all the incidents thereto, are subjects of certain and honorable pursuit.

If they are judiciously commenced, and honestly and carefully prosecuted, they never fail of success. So far from their being uncertain, the public suffer great inconvenience and injury for want of honest mechanics and traders.

It is a constant source of trouble and vexation with the community to encounter their falsehoods, delays, deceptions, and tricks.

There is not a respectable person in any community that will not bear testimony to the fact, that every honest, industrious, and competent mechanic and tradesman, who attends faithfully to his business, is an object of interest and liberal patronage by the public.

Such persons, with economy and prudence, if they have their health, and meet with no unavoidable accident, such as fire or

floods, never fail to prosper. They will always find employment and patronage.

This spirit of idleness, loose conduct, extravagance, and neglect lies at the basis of all failures in business.

It is the secret cause of the poverty of the journeyman; the arrogance, petty falsehoods, and breaking down of the employer; the dashing profligacy and disgraceful bankruptcy of the tradesman, the manufacturer, and the merchant.

No man has any right to begin any business upon a scale beyond his capital and custom. He may commence without one cent of money, with a capital in character and credit, which he is criminal to misuse or put in jeopardy.

He has no right to buy or contract for goods which he has not a reasonable certainty that he can turn into cash, and pay for within his stipulated credit; and whenever he does this upon an adventure to hold on to for an unexpected rise in the market, or to push off on credit to uncertain, doubtful, and distant purchasers, whose means and integrity he does not and cannot know to be good, he lends his integrity to his cupidity, and puts upon his creditors the peril of his secret enterprise.

If he succeeds, it is the luck of the gambler. His heart is debased by familiarity with secret fraud, and he will repeat the villainy.

All these malversations are bad manners, and it is bad manners to demand an excuse for, or furnish any legal exoneration from, the payment of all lawful debts.

The proposition is impudent and unjust, that any man who has obtained your labor, goods, or money is not to be afterwards held to have them, or their equivalent in value.

And that he shall not be personally required to give an ample and sufficient reason for their non-production.

He has obtained them from you with honest or fraudulent intentions. If the object was dishonest, he is a thief, against whom you cannot defend yourself. No one can fathom the secret motives of the artful and smooth-faced swindler.

If he obtained them upon the representation of his having property acquired by inheritance or personal acquisition, then he has just that much more in addition to your property; the latter is yours until it is paid for, and the other is pledged for your indemnity.

If you trusted him upon the faith of his integrity alone, still he has got your goods; and where are they? Is there any

reason why he should not tell where they are, and what he has done with them, if he will not pay you ?

Let him pay you the priece of your goods, or give them baek to you, or explain what he has done with them.

Is he not bound to do one of these ? Your father has worked for, or you have earned and saved, the money you paid for your goods : it was yours ; you honestly obtained it.

It is the means by which you live. You cannot live without it ; and he has got it. He takes your life, when he takes your means to sustain it. And is he not to pay you, nor return your goods, nor explain the reason why he will not ?

He sets you at defiance—calls you inhuman, eruel, and persecuting, and claims sympathy, excuse, exemption, and protection from that law which he has violated.

No man has ever pretended but that such an individual is amenable to his creditors, and that this is a personal liability.

You obtain your judgment when all offsets and defences have been made ; take out your proeess ; place it in the hands of the proper officer, who is commanded to call upon the delinquent, and obtain your debt.

The demand is met by a flat refusal to pay ; and then he is required to produce property—your property, or its substitute, out of which satisfaction of the debt may be made.

He has had your property ; the presumption is that he still has it ; but this he denies.

What is to be done ? Is he to go Seot free ? This is not pretended. He is to explain—to give an aecount of what has beeome of the property ; and, inasmueh as the presumptions of unfairness rest upon him until he does this, he must now go and explain.

He has made the erisis himself, and he must meet it. He has got your goods ; defaulted in payment ; been sued ; suffered judgment ; and now the time has come for him to pay, give up his property, or show why he eannot do one of these things.

He must therefore now go into eustody until he removes the just suspieion of fraud that rests on him.

This has ever been the law ; but such is the loose and scandalous disregard of right and justice in the hands of politicians, who never pay their debts, that reeently they have repudiated it ; and this just redress against knaves and profli-gates has been reproaehed as a relie of the barbarous ages.

They cannot morally vindicate or justify themselves behind the screen of legislative authority. Such an enactment obtains no force or virtue from that source of arbitrary power any more than any other act inherently wrong in itself; any more than a papal indulgence would justify murder, or a statute invalidating the validity of a contract.

They have not only excused and indemnified a debtor from all answerability to his creditor of what he has done with his property, but they have openly legalized plunder, under the pretext of compassion and philanthropy to the poor.

They have not ordered that, if a mechanic is poor, and has no tools to work with, and no furniture, &c., to keep house with, and says that he wants them, the public shall be taxed to get him \$20 worth of tools, and some \$100 worth of furniture, which shall be loaned to him on a free and perpetual lease, exempt from liability for all rent and debts; but they have gone further, and decreed that any man who can by trick, covin, or fraud, get this amount of goods on credit, shall hold it inexorably against all the world, and especially against the identical subject of his fraud.

Crime is stimulated by indulgence. So soon as this license for private plunder was understood, and its fruits obtained and enjoyed, the luxury was repeated every few days.

There was no limit or restraint to it; and it has been indulged in with impunity by thousands, as often as the possession of the same amount of goods could be obtained by art and duplicity.

This practice of the migrating and wandering *poor* had passed into a common joke. A *poor* man obtains on credit \$150 worth of tools, furniture, cows, sheep, &c.; assumes the mask of honest simplicity by rolling up his sleeves, going to work, and invoking the confidence of other verdants; renews the purchase, sells the goods, spends the money, and repeats the cheat, as often as he can find a victim to prey upon.

But this bad manners was not sufficiently refined.

Another act has passed into a law, carrying this accommodating exemption to the sum of \$300.

So that this sphere of plunder is enlarged to an extent far beyond their original expectations. The genteel and fashionable may now participate in felicitous bounty.

Every man may hold, in defiance of his creditor, \$300, in ready money, in household furniture, loan upon mortgage, in

gold or silver plate, in a stock of dry goods or groceries, in a boot-shop, or tailor's mart, or in a farm and stock of cattle.

With these capacities for display and credit, he may every day impose upon the honest confidenee of others, in the sum of \$300 more, and feed upon their hard earnings with legal impunity.

When his powers of research into their poekets is exhausted in one place, he can change the loeality of his munificent swindling to a new sphere, and repeat his pauper frauds, without limit or restraint, upon another community of unprotected, honest laborers.

The bankrupt remedy is compulsory. The creditor can enforce it upon a defaulting debtor. Its requirements are stringent, and its penalties are severe. The presumptions of unfairness lie with the bankrupt to explain. It gives him but one discharge. No man can obtain a second release under this law. These are its leading and distinct characteristics every where.

And still this remedy always meets with resolute and intelligent opponents, who maintain that no lawful contract can be annulled by law.

The Congress of the United States, against great opposition, enacted this law twice; but very soon, and almost unanimously, repealeed it.

But this new code abolishes the liability of the debtor to appear and explain what he has done with the property of his creditor, to any amount, and for his whole life; and gives him an indemnity for the undisturbed possession and enjoyment of \$300 worth of property, even though it should be the identical property out of which the creditor has been cheated.

The only remedy left for the creditor is by bill of diseovery or indictment for swindling. These are idle and insulting moekeries.

Swindling is always perpetrated under the cloak, and with the usual circumstances whieh attend every purchase and sale.

The secret motives and fraudulent designs of the defendant will be cautiously concealed; they cannot be proved; the law will not permit fraud to be implied or inferred.

And in a proeceeding by bill for diseovery, the defendant, in his answers to the interrogatories filed, will of course deny every insinuation against his honest intentions.

On a recent occasion, under a bill of discovery, the defendant acknowledged that he had reiterated his dexterity three times within two months. He said he had spent the money for the necessary occasions of his family; denied the fraudulent intent—it could not be proved upon him, and he escaped with impunity; thus encouraged himself, and with an example for others to plunder and prey upon society.

These legal immunitics were never intended for the poor, which means the "*destitute*." No poor man, or honest man, ever asked for them. They were proposed by the ignorant, under the influence of morbid sympathies and a mistaken view of the rights of debtor and creditor; and these erroneous projects have been exposed and advocated by the lazy, unprincipled, and driveling politicians for popularity.

It is the same spirit of injustice and wrong, which has got up the scheme called "*free schools*," in which the poor have no part, but in which the dishonest, the reckless, and the lazy revel at the public expense.

It is aside from all the provisions for help to the poor; it was made ostensibly for the poor, but with the secret design to benefit knaves; the poor are not advantaged, but injured by it.

The rights of creditors, and the validity of contracts, have been dragged into the pauper police and profanely desecrated, for the exclusive accommodation of the sinister.

What business has a pauper to be in debt? What right has any man to run in debt, with the intention of not paying his creditor? And what right has the legislature to force creditors to support their debtors?

They have power to compel the public to contribute money for the necessary support and comfort of the poor, for which all are compelled to pay their respective proportions.

But they have no right "*to levy unequal taxes*," and to compel creditors to support their debtors, under the pretext that they are poor, and thus say to every creditor that his debt shall be converted into a poor rate, and a pauper contribution, at the option of the debtor.

They have no right to invert the use of words, and in the name of the poor laws, which provides for "*want*" and "*destitution*," (for these are the defining words of the term "*poor*,") to decree that he who has run in debt to any amount, and refuses to pay it, shall be embraced within the meaning of the

word "*poor*," and upon this false and naked allegation be excused from telling what he has done with his pauper booty.

Whenever this debtor finds himself, by laziness or extravagance, unable or unwilling to pay his debts, he may say to his creditor, as the law now stands:—

"Yes, it is true I owe you this thousand, or ten thousand dollars; the amount is immaterial; my property is all gone except this six hundred bushels of corn, or one hundred bushels of wheat, I bought of you to-day; or this three hundred dollars in cash I borrowed from you yesterday, with my word and honor to pay you. But since then I have resolved to be an *exempt*, a *pauper*, a *poor man*; and you must not touch that three hundred bushels of corn at your peril; the law gives me this liberty against you, and I shall hold you to it."

The legislature has no authority to legalize these scandalous mockeries, and in the name of, and on behalf of the poor, to enable men who are not poor, and who should resent the imputation of pauperism as an insult, to rob and plunder the honest and industrious.

They have no right to establish immunities for the lazy and the wicked, nor for the honest, under the pretence of giving them capital to begin with, which will oblige every prudent man, who has earned and saved his means, to refuse to the poor a pound of meat and the rent of a house without payment in advance, and thus magnify and increase the wants and destitution of the real poor, necessarily throw them back upon, and increase the poor taxes, and encourage extravagance and crime, by giving them license, not only to swindle the public, but to compel their creditors to make individual contributions of three hundred dollars to every adroit knave who can obtain it from them.

All the rights and remedies of creditors have thus been taken from them, and given to their debtors.

There is but one step more to be taken to complete the stride obviously meditated.

The child, perhaps, is now alive who will live to see a further exemption made by law of a thousand dollars freehold, to be called a **HOMESTEAD**, and an annual exaction by taxes upon those who own anything above these two exemptions (\$1,300) to pay the expenses of the living of these modern pirates, unless the honest men, who do earn and save, rouse themselves

up, and wrench from the rabble the power of the nomination for office, and the control of the elections.

It is bad manners not to fulfil with fidelity our private and public undertakings.

The natural inclination for sloth, and repugnance to careful study and patient labor, and the sordid desire to grasp at the fruits of industry and genius, without having claim to them, are the cause of all the bungling and superficial performance of duty.

There are but few who honestly perform their duty. They either do not understand it, or do not care how it is done. They are restless, and blame their neglected employments because they do not supply their accommodations for idleness and prodigality.

Every respectable employment, properly and faithfully pursued, will prosper, with a thorough knowledge of it, and a diligent attention to all its details. Too much should not be undertaken by one person at one time.

Tanning, shoemaking, farming, storekeeping, grog-selling, and squiring cannot all be done by one man; nor can any one efficiently be a conveyancer, attorney, and congressman at the same time; nor a bleeder, dentist, apothecary, and physician at one time.

These different professions were practiced by different persons in former ages.

A single fact, which has more power with the ignorant than arguments, will show the force of this proposition.

It is of a gentleman who had an obstinate cutaneous eruption on the end of his nose, for the cure of which he had for five years invoked the medical skill of the United States, and London and Paris.

He held a public post of distinction, in which he was constantly exposed to observation; possessed a large fortune, and enjoyed high rank for learning, talents, and integrity.

With all these enviable concurrences, in the mid-day of life, his health, peace, and pride were crushed, and despair settled upon all his hopes like a thick cloud. At length he resigned his office, covered up with a mask the advancing and horrid fungus, and resigned himself to voluntary imprisonment for life.

On his way home, he halted for the night at the city of —, where he was spied out by a sagacious old friend, who inquired for, and upon being informed of the names of the doctors who

had been consulted, remarked that none of those gentlemen, he thought, were specially regarded as cutaneous physicians; and that there was a young doctor of education and good character in that city, who, it was said, had turned his attention with considerable success to diseases of the skin.

Hope flashed upon his agonized heart. The gentleman referred to was consulted; the story and the symptoms of the patient carefully written down; and time was modestly proposed for thought and research.

The next day a prescription was ordered, which was made up for fifty cents; the blistered and persecuted nose was released from its brutal harness, and covered with soft and cooling unguents; a tablespoonful of the preparation was taken three times a day, with generous living, and free exercise in the open air for twelve days; during which time the disgusting deformity gradually vanished, and the perishing feature resumed its natural form, color, and texture.

Thus far the doctor and his patient were strangers to each other. Now there had been miraculously vanquished a revolting fatal monster, and a new-born tangible member of the human face in its place.

The senses and imagination of the patient were struck with bewildering amazement!! Was it a treacherous delusion, or a cunning trick to excite hope and betray him to despair? Was this a certain cure, or would the hideous leper again fasten its unrelenting and deathly fangs upon his face? These were mental agitations fraught with thrilling horrors.

The doctor calmly allayed his fears, and gave him an intelligible, lucid, unassuming, and scientific explanation of the remote, internal, latent, and secret causes of this malady; which, like many other diseases, have their seat sometimes in insensible parts, and develop their symptoms by sympathy on remote and healthy surfaces of the body.

He told him that it was not inherent or chronic; and that it could be prevented or removed by the same remedy; and upon being requested to name his charge, diffidently asked if \$15 was too much.

The curious may be informed that this true and faithful servant of the public received, in place of his modest charge, a munificent benefaction as a just reward for his fidelity, skill, and learning. How much bright light is shed upon the subject under consideration by this true revelation!

Developments of the practical results of real knowledge and untiring industry are thus constantly made in all the spheres of mental and moral activity.

The true philosophy of all moral and social usefulness consists in diligent fidelity and singleness of purpose.

No man, with idle, eccentric, or vacillating habits, and superficial knowledge of his business, should be encouraged or patronized. There is no dependence to be placed in his integrity, stability, or capacity. Such men are presumptuous in manner, extortionate in their prices; dishonest to the public, stand in the way of, and discourage honest industry, talents, learning, morals, and modest worth.

Good manners do not merely consist in amiable deportment and civil conversation, but involve the honest and faithful discharge of all the personal and conventional duties which we expressly and impliedly assume, and are required to perform, in whatever we undertake to do.

Those who are too stupid, or lazy, or ignorant, or depraved to perform these duties in good faith, always have art enough to screen themselves by appealing to the morbid sympathies of the bad, with the pretext that it is uncharitable and bad manners to be ungenerous or severe towards any one.

They live by deception and fraud, and presumptuously invert all the laws by which the conduct of honest men are governed, to conceal their deceptions and treachery to the public.

So that they abuse all the elements of good manners by their deliberate violation of them; and insolently invert these conservative rules of right, to maintain their fraudulent perpetrations on others.

It is a much greater breach of good manners to charge one with bad manners for exposing hypocrisy, quackery, and vice, than it is to insult one with coarse and profane language.

It is bad manners, also, to countenance or encourage, by example, pretexts for evading moral restraints, and a due respect for order and law, and a proper reverence for religion, however these vulgarisms may be sanctioned by popular and fashionable toleration.

And it is, perhaps, more than bad manners to deride the motives, and sneer at the unostentatious labors of those who, by charities, schools, and religion, without reward, quietly and meekly strive to ameliorate and improve the physical and moral condition of man; and perhaps it is also something worse than bad

manners to tax their gratuitously obtained means to pamper the prodigality, and pay the rash and reckless debts of politicians and factionists.

When it suits the morbid vanity or sordidupidity of these demagogues, levies, without stint, are made to build temples, and pay armies of teachers, selected by ignorant politicians, to catch the applause of the rabble, by the establishment of poor schools; and millions of debts are contracted ostensibly for public improvements, but covertly, for fraudulent contracts and embezzlements.

And when the State becomes bankrupt by their licentious prodigality, they impiously propose to tax the sanctuaries for God's worship, and the graves of the dead.

No associations should be permitted, under any pretext, to accumulate property beyond their legitimate occasions.

This is a monopoly which nowhere should be allowed; but all the property required for the necessary and liberal accommodation of charitable and religious institutions should be exempt from taxation.

Let corporation monopolies, who subsist upon the public, and make no pretensions of benevolence, be taxed. They are impregnable to oppression, because their success depends on trick and deception.

The politicians have no right to take or tax a fund, or hospital, or a house raised by gratuitous contributions, and honestly dedicated to the comfort of the helpless or the promotion of knowledge, morals, or religion.

No government has the right to tax or clip the loaf given to the hungry, or touch the sacred vestments of the altar, under the profane pretext that there should be no individual benevolence, and that the rulers of the people should have an exclusive monopoly in charity, and that the toleration of religion, without taxation, is a special privilege, and has a tendency to encourage a union of church and state, which means a test and a pledge of conformity to the laws and a support of an established church.

The constitution of all the States, and the constitution of the United States disclaim all assumptions of theocracy; on the contrary, they guarantee to every one permission to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, and expressly refuse to furnish to this object any preference, aid, or favor.

The necessary result is that persons using this franchise, as

incident thereto, may hold and enjoy all the appliances and immunities necessary for its enjoyment, at their own expence.

And the praetical operation of the theory is that, so long as they keep themselves within their lawful sphere, and out of the range of the reserved powers of government, these privileges are as saered as the immunities of liberty and life; and if they contribute to the general good, upon all rules of publie poliey, they are entitled to, and should reeeive, the eomplaeant and benignant patronage and eneouragement, and not the discountenance and persecutions of, government.

Suppose that most excellent society called Quakers—whose system of police and morals is as near perfection as any similar human contrivance can be, if we judge of it by its undisputed sueeess—could satisfy the publie that they could, at the same eost, and free of the pay and venal contingencies of official duplieity, take better eare of the poor, the idiots, the insane, the criminals, and the whole army of fanatics and politieal jockeys; that they would keep better schools and turn out more learned men, make wiser laws, and administer justice better, more quickly and quietly, than these things are now done by this noisy scrambling publie; would it not be an obvious saving to make a contract with them for the performance of these important undertakings? And is there any pretence but that these efforts have been everywhere more thoroughly and honestly aecomplished by unpaid and voluntary contributions, when theorists and politieians can be kept away from them, than any municipal functionaries, with all their ostentation, pageantry, and pomp, have ever been able to execute them?

Such contributions and benevolence can no more be legitimate objeets of taxation than the healing oil or the brotherly love of the good Samaritan.

That which is held for use or profit may be lawfully taxed, but not that which is raised for help and light to the blind and feeble.

It would be just as reasonable to tax the funds raised for, and the buildings and edifices constructed for, poor schools, paupers, criminals, court-houses, and legislation, and which in no respect contribute more to the maintenancce of order and publie security than these institutions do.

The argument that by their exemption from taxation they become the objeets of the grant of a special favor or privilege by government, when, by taxing them, their means and capaei-

ties for usefulness are diminished, is another refinement of the impudent, ignorant, and vulgar demagogues to delude, defraud, and oppress the people.

Their secret purpose is to complicate the tricks and obseurities of faction fraud, so as to bewilder and cheat the people by compound taxations out of their hard earnings and honest savings, to gratify their sordid and venal appetites.

Every meal and all the shelter and covering given to the hungry, the orphan, the sick and infirm, by the hand of charity, leave that much less for the public to pay for.

Every person restrained from evil, and led into and encouraged to follow the paths of virtue and religion, diminishes the burthens of the depravity and crime resting upon the community, increases the industry, and strengthens the moral and physical resources of society.

The wants and occasions of millions are thus supplied by the hand of benevolence, instead of being taunted and soul-smitten by the grudging and hired minions of the law.

Thousands are instructed through all the courses of learning and science, in the endowed colleges and schools, not by ignorant politicians, but by competent and refined scholars.

Is it not a false and fraudulent sophistry, that the means voluntarily granted by the public, and the donations, devises, and contributions voluntarily bestowed by individuals for sustaining the health and lives, enlightening the minds and purifying the hearts, of man; that the purse and the scrip, the books of songs and music and prayers, and the holy Gospels, the churches, the altars, the tabernacles for God's worship, and the sepulchres of the dead, should not escape the taxation fangs of the politician?

They insolently assume that these charitable and laudable objects of gratuitous and pious foundation, conducted for ages by the brightest and purest men that live, have no agency in ameliorating and sustaining the physical and moral exigencies of the human race.

Whereas they are the conservative elements which sustain the entire fabric of social order and security.

If the politicians had thrown all their extortions by taxation into these safe and honest channels of wise and judicious appropriation, very many of the riots, conflagrations, election, judicial, legislative, and executive outrages which have degraded this country for several years past would have been averted.

In this country, as there is no established connection between the government and the church and the institutions referred to, the politicians have a fair chance at the people, without any temptation or occasion to do it under pretensions of religion; and it is amusing to see how they revel in open profanity. In countries where all these objects are under government supervision—and it becomes the interest of the rabble to join them—it is amusing to remark the swelling congregations of devout and solemn rogues.

There has never before now been so fair a chance for the undisguised development of the real materials which govern good and bad men as there is furnished by the wise discrimination here made between politics and religion. It has placed both parties, the good and the bad men, in solid column, face to face.

The latter resist all the arts which education can supply, and all the power which brutal force can employ, and criminal public sympathy can furnish, and with no opposition to encounter, are waging the most sanguinary war upon the ardor, industry, and religion of the country.

It is this latent influence, perhaps, that explains the reason why the elder Adams remarked, after a six weeks' visit to one of the largest cities in the country, that he had not during his whole stay met one public man with unaffected good manners.

Holding an elevated office, he was, of course, surrounded by political Shylocks, whose habits and manners are impelled by their selfish propensities, and who are never influenced by the purifying restraints of decorum, morals, and religion.

As to graveyards, every man dies with the hope, at least, that he will be decently buried and let alone. The World's Convention would unanimously say amen to this, although no more respect has ever been paid by the rabble to a dead than to a living body. Everything bends to their rapacity. The Egyptians embalmed, mummied, and carefully packed away their dead, to be used in after ages for fuel and clap-trap shows for the ignorant. Some have made bonfires of their dead. Perhaps this is the best way to keep them from being seized by politicians. The friends of the dead soon scatter and die too; the graveyards get full, and no brimful eye or loving heart is left to watch them. The bailiff comes; the dead man can't give him black mail. The tax is levied, the grave is sold, and the vendee makes manure and merchandise of the land.

The savages do not tax, but sacredly cherish and revere the tombs of their dead.

No government has ever indulged in the brutal luxury of taxing a graveyard.

The bad manners of England, as to taxation, will be found in the following extract. Hitherto, they have not taxed the dead, an example, it seems, their descendants in this country are not inclined to follow.

#### TAXES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

In the *Edinburgh Review* is an article upon Dr. Seybert's statistics of this country. The article consists principally of an abstract of the principal statements in the book. In the course of the article, is an admonition to us to abstain from martial glory, if we would avoid taxation, for the writer had no idea that we were so in love with taxation that we would increase our taxes without any intention of enhancing the revenue.—*Repertory.*

“ We can inform Jonathan (says the Reviewer, for so able a writer cannot abstain from the childish humor of applying to us a *nickname*) what are the inevitable consequences of being too fond of glory. Taxes upon every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under foot—taxes upon everything which is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell or taste : taxes upon warmth, light, or locomotion—taxes on everything on earth, and the waters under the earth—on every thing that comes from abroad, or is grown at home—taxes on raw materials—taxes on every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of men—taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health—on the ermine that decorates the judge, and on the rope which hangs the criminal—on the poor man's salt and the rich man's spice—on the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribands of the bride—at bed or at board, couchant, levant, we must pay! The schoolboy whips his taxed top—the beardless youth manages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle on a taxed road ; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine, which has paid seven per cent., into a spoon that has paid fifteen per cent., flings himself back upon his chintz bed, which has paid twenty-two per cent., makes his will on an eight pound stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then taxed from two to ten per cent., besides the

probate. Large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel: his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and he is then gathered to his fathers to be taxed no more!'

These are objects of direct taxation.

This is an art, like all the other plots of faction. They call it a science of government, but it is no more a science than the game at cards by which cheating is plausibly and secretly perpetrated.

By indirect taxation, under the disguise of imports upon the productions of foreigners, and under the pretext of encouraging and equalizing the exigencies of commerce and revenue, millions are extorted from home consumers.

Judicious protection is a cardinal duty of government. In this country, it has been a subterfuge for monopoly and oppression; not only by the politicians who raise by it, and squander immense revenue, but by incorporated combinations, who, under cover of fictitious capital and credit, and desperate experiments, frighten and drive from the field of industry individual enterprise.

If these incorporated and pernicious monopolies were abolished, and producing and manufacturing activity were left free, the competition would be so lively and healthy in its activity as to prevent the burthen of high prices falling on consumers.

The result would be that, however high the tariff on importations might be, even if it went to interdictions, it would not fall on the consumers, and the wealth, industry, and resources of the country would be augmented.

If this wise and judicious policy of protection by tariff on one hand, and the stimulation of individual enterprise by keeping down reckless and irresponsible corporations and combinations on the other hand, had been adopted by the government of the United States at its commencement, and adhered to up to this time, there would not have been such a pernicious taste for foreign luxuries excited, nor any underhand impositions of double prices upon consumers; and an immense field would have been thrown open for honest and profitable employment in all the departments of produce and manufacture; so wide in its emulations, and conservative and wholesome in its results, that the country now would be independent of the world, with an enormous surplus for foreign supply, and the capacity for the employment of the largest carrying marine of any other nation.

These two plain and simple elements of practical national poliey and prosperity, so often and ineffectually urged, are worth more than all the visionary schemes of crafty and factious statesmen.

#### CONCLUSION.

There can be no good manners without morality, nor morality without religion. No savage ever had good breeding. No pagan ever had pure morals. Both feel and know the essential worth of deeneey and integrity, but do not practice either, although they exact them from others as vanity or cupidity demands.

Religion, the love and fear of God, is the substratum of everything good. No charity, no charm in all creation, can find its spring in aught but God. No blur or blight of Heaven but comes from hell.

Men sometimes scoff at religion to snub conscience; women love religion. They almost all of them go to churh, if not prevented by the men. They secretly influence most extensive works of piety in schools, prayer meetings, and private praise.

They encourage all denominations, and revere true religion. They do not bicker about tenets and doctrines, but, by their bright examples, rebuke sin and persuade to every honorable act.

There is no restraint upon man's evil passions like religion. It softens the hard heart, curbs the feroeious temper, humbles the pride, and imbues the soul with charity.

All its aspirations are for the glorious employments of Heaven; not for selfish and sulky avarice, but for free and cheerful benevolence; not for cruelty, but mercy; not for oppression, but liberty; not for lust or gluttony, but temperance and virtue; not for war and blood, but peace and joy; not for martial parades to provoke revenge and violence, and torchlight processions to encourage hatred and defiance, but for schools and Sabbath instruction for innocent and lovely children, churhes, prayer, worship, concerts, lectures, social parties, temperance processions, songs, and harmless amusements for all.

These refreshing and innocent excitements, prompted and governed by good manners and religion, stir up no bad passions.

Man is a soeial creature, requires society and profits by it. Let him have it, however large and free, if pure.

## CHAPTER III.

### MENTAL HAPPINESS.

We are all prone to repine at our lot—To wish for what we have not—Miseries of idleness (extract from Burton)—Employment, secret of contentment—May be unfit for all but what we are at—Distinctions—Rich—Poor—Excelling—Popular notice—Difference in minds—Fitness—Power—Taste—Susan Nelson—Professor Morse—But few who have the intellect of Washington—Franklin—Lafayette—Moses—Julius Cæsar—Luxury—The rich man—Opulence—Apathy—Comparisons—Old age—Learning is a work for life—Acquired by degrees—Napoleon in youth, &c.—Character—The causes of these secret aspirations—The mind—The soul—Brutes—Instinct—Passion—Impulse—Remorse—Reflection—Affection—Mental power—Religion.

*“Miseries of Idleness.*—In a commonwealth where there is no public enemy, there is likely civil wars, and they rage upon themselves; this body of ours, when it is idle, and knows not how to bestow itself, macerates and vexeth itself with eares, grief, false fears, discontents, and suspieions; it tortures and preys upon its own bowels, and is never at rest. Thus much I dare boldly say; he or she that is idle, be they of what condition they will, never so rich, so well allied, fortunate, happy, let them have all things in abundance, and felicity that heart can wish or desire, all contentment—so long as he or she or they are idle, they shall never be pleased, never well in body and mind, but weary still, sickly still, vexed still, loathing still, weeping, sighing, grieving, suspecting, offended with the world, with every object, wishing themselves gone or dead, or else carried away with some foolish fantasy or other. And this is the true cause that so many great men, ladies, and gentlewomen, labor of this disease in country and city; for idleness is an appendix to nobility; they count it a disgrace to work, and spend all their days in sports, recreations, and pastimes, and will therefore take no pains, be of no vocation; they feed liberally, fare well, want exercise, action, employment (for to work I say they may not abide), and company to their desires; and thence their bodies become full of gross humors, wind, crudities;

their minds disquieted, dull, heavy, &c. ; eare, jealousy, fear of soine diseases, sullen fits, weeping fits, seize too familiarly on them. For what will not fear and fantasy work in an idle body?"—BURTON'S *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 86.

"*Occupation the best Cure for Discontent.*—When you shall hear and see so many discontented persons, in all placees where you eome, so many several grievances, unneeessary complaints, fears, suspicions, the best means to redress it, is to set them a-work, so to busy their minds; for the truth is, they are idle. Well they may build castles in the air for a time, and soothe up themselves with fantastical and pleasant humors; but in the end they will prove as bitter as gall; they shall be still, I say, discontent, suspicuous, fearful, jealous, sad, fretting and vexing of themselves; so long as they be idle it is impossible to please them. *Otio qui nescit uti, plus habet negotii quam qui negotium in negotio*, as that Agellius could observe; he that knows not how to spend his time, hath more business, eare, grief, anguish of mind, than he that is most busy in the midst of all his business."—*Ibid.*, pp. 868-9.

We are naturally prone to find fault with and repine at our fate.

All children, little and big, think everything they see others have is better and prettier than their own things.

We are also prone to imagine the pursuits of others preferable to ours. The laborer, meehanie, shopkeeper, and farmer fancies how superior to his are the oeeupations of professional life. He knows not of the monastic seelusion, solemn meditations and painful responsibilities of the priest, the ineessant toil and cloistered solitude of the seholar, the perpetual and revolting contaminations with vice and crime of the lawyer, the loathsome and disgusting employments of the physician, the wanderings and perils of the sailor and soldier, the uncertainty and duplicity of politieians, the hateful and hideous nightmare of vacant leisure. This principle is beautifully elucidated by the great Latin poet (Horace, Ode i.), and is the observation of every day's experience.

"*Aptitudes in Men.*—It is very certain that no man is fit for everything; but it is almost as certain, too, that there is seareely any one man who is not fit for something, whieh something nature plainly points out to him by giving him a tendeney and propensity to it. Every man finds in himself, either from nature

or education (for they are hard to distinguish), a peculiar bent and disposition to some particular character; and his struggling against it is the fruitless and endless labor of Sisyphus. Let him follow and cultivate that vocation; he will succeed in it, and be considerable in one way at least; whereas, if he departs from it, he will, at best, be inconsiderable, probably ridiculous."

LORD CHESTERFIELD'S *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. i. p. 65.

The secret art of happiness is to be content; not to be listless or unambitious, but to employ our faculties for useful and well-timed emulation; not to neglect, but discreetly encourage appropriate enterprise.

These aspirations should be restrained by prudence, and on no occasion suffered to ruffle the judgment.

We might have been born idiots or Hottentots, and any point above that mark on the scale of existence is a prize in the great lottery of creation.

Our natures may be specially adapted to our present position, and wholly unfit for a different sphere.

However humble our lot, we may accommodate ourselves to it, and it is uncertain if this could be accomplished under different circumstances.

Hasty movements and sudden changes should be avoided, and no man can safely begin another trade or employment with which he is ignorant.

Discontent is caprice and self-treachery. He who is dissatisfied with his fate, if gratified might still be restless and grasp for more.

There was a warrior who conquered all the world and wept for further conquest.

All distinctions, except those resting upon virtue and talents, are artificial and speculative; matters of whim and fancy. Those poorer than we are think we are rich, and envy our estate with the same nervous anxiety that we covet the supposed wealth of others.

So, too, as to every object of desire. The fables of the dog and the shadow, and the man and his geese, teach us that he who catches at more than belongs to him justly deserves to lose what he has; and that we are too prone to entertain a desire for things at a distance, which, if we had them, might work destruction.

Happiness does not therefore consist in the possession of a

particular thing. It is the mental satisfaction we feel for what we have which makes happiness.

The weary laborer may feel a charm at eventide, in the sweet shadow of his humble cottage, that finds no place with the sceptered monarch in his gilded palaces.

Happiness is a creature of the mind, a child of the imagination, a deity which may be enshrined in any heart and worshipped without idolatry.

It is a cheerful sprightly god, and flies suddenly and swiftly from the lazy, the stupid, and the wicked; it cares not for riches, and loves steady work and harmless fun, and calmly and soberly will vindicate the wisdom of its theories by rational arguments and minute details.

The clean, or dusty, or the sedentary, or laborious nature of an employment does not ascertain the respectability of its character.

Those whose engagements are sedentary and confined suffer for want of fresh air and exercise, while those upon the waters and in the fields suppose there is more comfort and ease in the seclusion of shade and shelter. Those engaged in the cleanest occupations, say the tailor, or cedar-cooper, might prefer the athletic exercise of the smith or the mason with their dust and mortar. All these are trifling and immaterial considerations, producing no abrasion to a mind not disposed to repine and fret.

Whatever may be the self-denial and personal exposure of manly toil, if it does not affect the health, the spirit of industry will disregard it, and each should strive to excel in his own pursuit. These are the true sources of mental happiness, and lay the foundations of true fame and human glory.

He who is more proficient in raising crops or cattle, in building ships and houses, or making flour or cloth, than any other person is in the same pursuit or occupation, is the greatest man in his business.

Mrs. Susan Nelson is the most distinguished spinner, and Professor Morse is the most exalted inventor, of this age; because Mrs. Nelson spun more flax in one day than any woman ever spun before or since; and Professor Morse has more successfully discovered the control and practical use of electricity than any other man.

It is wholly immaterial what the employment is, if it be respectable; perseverance in its pursuit verifies the maxim that "Practice makes perfect."

The attainment of this conceded point in any sphere, mechanics, agriculture, or science, secures acknowledged distinction.

The same law of reason and justice governs all the relations of life, and embraces all the successful energies and moral aspirations of man.

Washington was not less illustrious as a soldier, patriot, and statesman than he was as a farmer, a gentleman, and a Christian. Franklin was not more distinguished for scientific research and skillful diplomacy than for his surprising faculties of simultaneous mental and mechanical composition; the rapid translation of his thoughts with his types directly from his mind to his printing-press.

This wonderful accomplishment was acquired by the intense and patient industry of an ignorant and fugitive soap-boy.

Every man, with equal mind and industry, has the same chance for the attainment of all these objects; and every man of the same merits, if he does not reach the same points of elevation, is entitled to equal regard and admiration.

If he is not known to so many as those more distinguished, he will be certain of the confidence and esteem of all good men who do know him; and he will enjoy the highest point of mental happiness, a positive and sure consciousness of his own worth.

The exact amount or summit of popularity or fame is not so important to a contented mind as a well-founded sense of respect for our own virtues. We cannot all be governors and generals; and those with subdued and refined feelings, who have reached high places, have not the appreciation of their value which is entertained by the crowd. They feel distrust and modesty, rather than ostentation. Their duties involve great severities of mental toil, research, and public scrutiny, by which the lives of sensitive persons are tortured and abridged; and thousands, for these reasons, shrink from or decline office.

If Washington, Jefferson, or Jackson, now covered with posthumous glory, could speak to us from the tomb, they would say, that the drawbacks to their fame far outweighed their joys.

The desire to be extensively known is absurd. There is no meaning in the wish; it is ridiculous; and no one can give a good reason for it.

The strongest proof of a man's good character is that he is not known. Persons of sound good sense, whose employments have incidentally or necessarily thrown them into public notice,

always avoid and shun, rather than court, empty and tumultuous receptions, levees, and parades.

General Washington submitted to them with great reluctance, and only yielded from their conceded propriety as a revolutionary finale.

Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. John Quincy Adams, Mr. Thomas H. Benton, and General Scott, and every other gentleman of judgment and true pride who has been before the American people, have peremptorily declined to unite in these riotous displays. And the reelection may be appealed to in support of the assertion that no one who has used them has been distinguished for wisdom, or has been successful as a leader.

They are got up for an effect which they fail to produce.

The succession of gorgeous pageantries, which were so rich and glorious from the time of the unanimous vote of invitation by the people and their representatives to General La Fayette, to visit, in the evening of his life, the early scenes of his patriotism and suffering, until he left the country, was one grand and universal jubilee of thanksgiving for the commencement of a millennium in this refuge of persecuted man.

They were songs of pure and pious joy. No looked for favors occupied the hearts of the millions who joined this throng.

There were more tears than laughter; it was a solemn festival of religious love and gratitude by the generations of a disenthralled and delivered nation, with this last apostle and his venerable contemporaries, for their guests, in the only revolution that has been wrought out, and its objects successfully achieved, under the overruling providence of Almighty God.

Men widely differ in their faculties, and very few possess extraordinary powers for any one pursuit, much less special and extraordinary capacities for a number of occupations.

The individuals referred to were amongst the few very great men that have lived.

Moses, Julius Cæsar, Newton, Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, are instances of intellectual glory, scattered with other luminaries over the arch of time, and outshining countless myriads of other lights as suns and twinkling satellites, with dimmer stars which decorate the skies.

With affluence and ease, some imagine there is perpetual and certain joy.

*“Use of Luxury.*—In the present imperfect condition of society, luxury, though it may proceed from vice or folly, seems to be the only means that can correct the unequal distribution of property. The diligent mechanic and the skillful artist, who have obtained no share in the division of the earth, receive a voluntary tax from the possessors of land; and the latter are prompted by a sense of interest to improve those estates with whose produce they may purchase additional pleasures.”—GIBBON, vol. i. p. 87.

“In a civilized state, every faculty of man is expanded and exercised; and the great chain of mutual dependence connects and embraces the several members of society. The most numerous portion of it is employed in constant and useful labors. The select few, placed by fortune above that necessity, can however fill up their time by the pursuits of interest or glory, by the improvement of their estate or of their understanding, by the duties, the pleasures, and even the follies, of social life.”

—*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 357.

This he contrasts with the life of the barbarians.

The mind readily draws and lavishly embellishes such a picture. It is, for example, of a newly-married pair, young in health, refined and rich, of pure lineage, and spotless reputation, surrounded by luxury and friends, to gaze upon them through a long life of ease and happiness, and fancy over all their golden days of joy and peace. To feel the certainty that this bright and dazzling mirror is no delusion, and to contrast its shining glories with the dull obscurity of poverty and manual toil. This is rushing to the eager wish, and snubs the panting hope as does the sudden bit, the spurred and rampant steed.

Covetous appetites are planted in our nature, and nourished up to madness, by being doomed to drudge like brutes for bread before the transparent gates of Paradise.

All the curse on man would seem in this to be fulfilled. Yet reason bids restless poverty repine no more, but listen to the fretful murmurs of this opulent and idle neighbor; to mark his listless days and sleepless nights, his hunger surfeited, and sated thirst, his vacant eye, and ear, and thought, his never-ending eagerness for something new; his torturing temptations, his innate humiliation for his useless existence, his instinctive shame to hear the clamorous shouts of free and manly labor scoffing his effeminate imbecility; his pampered frame, nervous irritability, precarious health, uncertain life, early death, dilapi-

dated fortune, helpless degenerated children, his scattered and extinguished name and habitation.

Reason and truth will thus brush down the radiant beams of borrowed burnish cast round this early picture of our hasty youth, and to the heart hold out the cheering words of peace within, for him whose willing hands have wrought out for himself an independent life, with health and strength, proud satisfaction, temptation baffled, green old age, triumphant death, and stalwart virtuous progeny, in habitations free, by equal laws forever fastened to their country's soil.

“*Luxurious Selfishness*.—He sits at table in a soft chair at ease, but he doth not remember in the meantime that a tired waiter stands behind him, *an hungry fellow ministers to him full; he is athirst that gives him drink* (saith Epictetus); and is silent whiles he speaks his pleasure; pensive, sad, when he laughs. *Pleno se proluit auro*; he feasts, revels, and profusely spends, hath variety of robes, sweet music, ease, and all the pleasure the world can afford; whilst many an hunger-starved poor creature pines in the street, wants clothes to cover him, labors hard all day long, runs, rides for a trifle, fights peradventure from sun to sun; sick and ill, weary, full of pain and grief, is in great distress and sorrow of heart. He loathes and scorns his inferior, hates or emulates his equal, envies his superior; insults over all such as are under him, as if he were of another species, a demi-god, not subjeet to any fall, or human infirmities. Generally they love not, are not beloved again; they tire out others' bodies with continual labor, they themselves living at ease, caring for none else, *sibi nati*; and are so far many times from putting to their helping hand, that they seek all means to depress, even most worthy and well deserving, better than themselves, those whom they are by the laws of nature bound to relieve and help, as much as in them lies; they will let them eaterwaul, starve, beg, and hang, before they will anyways (though it be in their power) assist, or ease: so unnatural are they for the most part, so unregardful, so hard-hearted, so churlish, proud, insolent, so dogged, of so bad a disposition. And being so brutish, so devilishly bent one towards another, how is it possible but that we should be discontent of all sides, full of eares, woes, and miseries?”—BURTON'S *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 110.

Just in proportion to the stock of good sense and sound judgment is the heart at ease as to the multitude of grades and

degrees in mind, means, and position making up the extremes, and filling up the intermediate spaces of existenee.

The mental capacities vary in their strength and tendencies, as much as the taste and choice for place, and change from the humblest efforts of the infant mind to the refinement of art and the creations of genius, from the contented rustie to the roving mariner, from penury and want to health and luxury, the meal-satisfied beggar and the unsated miser, the slave and the monarch, the contented eunueh and weeping Alexander.

Who can gaze on all these wonderful dispensations, the mysteries and magnitude of the moral and material world, and not be smitten down with humility and thankfulness, for any place, however humble, in this wonderful majestic panorama of God's glory, and acknowledge his infinite bounty in giving us talents for any one of the innumerable pursuits which his infinite providence has ordained, in the division of labor amongst his rational creatures?

There may be mental happiness with great bodily sufferings. Persons afflicted with acute and stubborn diseases, griping poverty, and cruel captivity, may possess faculties for endurance, resolution, and religious confidence so strong, as to hold a triumphant and unsubdued serenity of soul. These instances of intelleetual power are rare, for our temperaments are impatient and restless; and the emotions of the mind, and the sensations of the body, are so closely blended that they almost maintain a reciprocal control, so that we are apt in seasons of affliction to increase our sorrows by despondency and mourning.

Adversity should stimulate us to resignation and religious faith, and, if sincere, the humblest efforts for the attainment of these blessings by the true believer will be merifully encouraged.

The same great law of mental and physical dependence, which governs and sustains us in adversity, prevails amidst the blessings of health and prosperity.

The impelling and mutual necessities of the sexes are no more important for their soeial and rational enjoyments, than the eoneurrent facilities of the body and mind are essential for the seurity of individual happiness and tranquillity.

Upon the continued activity of both, within an appropriate sphere, suited to our strength and capaacity, down to the sunset of life, depend the sources of true happiness.

## CULTIVATION OF TEMPER.

“ If, happily, we are born of a good nature ; if a liberal education has formed in us a generous temper and disposition, well-regulated appetites, and worthy inclinations, 'tis well for us, and so indeed we esteem it. But who is there endeavors to give these to himself, or to advance his portion of happiness in this kind ? Who thinks of improving, or so much as of preserving his share in a world where it must of necessity run so great a hazard, and where we know an honest nature is so easily corrupted ? All other things relating to us are preserved with care, and have some art or economy belonging to them ; this which is nearest related to us, and on which our happiness depends, is alone committed to chance : And *temper* is the only thing ungoverned, whilst it governs all the rest.”—SHAFESBURY’S *Characteristics*, vol. ii. p. 293.

A wanton disregard of these connecting and mysterious constructions of our physical and mental organs is instantly rebuked by the significant and fatal hand of Providence. They must mutually serve each other, and cannot separately and independently exist without destructive consequences to both.

Let man be chained by bondage or avarice, and he becomes a brute, and his mind a chaos, and both decay.

If the mind feasts with avidity upon the charms of poetry or science, however rapturous or sublime, without exercise for the body, there soon will come apathy and wasted health, and both must perish. Sensual and voluptuous pleasures inevitably and speedily waste and banish life.

Instances have often occurred of persons, whose pursuits were laborious and tiresome, suddenly relinquishing business and seeking relief in retirement and leisure, who have found themselves insupportably perplexed, and have gradually sunk into listless and apoplectic extinction.

As mid-day approaches, and experience has ripened, a careful and prudent discrimination may dispense with the heavy and trying portions of any employment or profession, and retain those parts which can be made convenient, and the familiar and accustomed pursuit of which may be used commendably to fill up time and comfortably occupy the body and the mind.

The great error into which we fall is the headstrong resolution formed in youth for sudden and speedy affluence, and subsequent repose and luxury. The impetuous eagerness for this

gilded prize too often precipitates its followers into ruin and despair: and if the perilous adventure is crowned with success, its consummations are realized amidst spasmodic excitements, uneogenous and inconsistent with the listless indulgences and unexciting relaxations of retirement and leisure.

The constant, temperate, and moderate occupations of the mind and body are essential to human happiness.

This is an undeniable law of our nature. Its practical illustration is demonstrated by misery and ruin for the listless and idle, and grace and glory for the thrifty and industrious.

Just so far as we may advance in any lawful desires or wishes from the sphere we are placed in, by patient and legitimate means, without wrong to ourselves and others, we may go with safety, but the moment we break this law, we are in peril, and the world is as full of fugitives and malefactors from the primary paths of discretion and prudence as hell is said to be of penitent sinners.

There is no reason why every man should not make choice of a learned profession, or any other lawful occupation. No one has a right to criticise upon aspirations, however extravagant. Surprising results have come from humble undertakings. The triumph of mind and patient industry over circumstances, with Franklin and others, are examples of genius and perseverance, which prove the power these human qualities have over circumstances.

But there is not one human being in ten thousand who has the mind of Franklin. It is intellect, not luck, that produces these triumphant changes; and the rock upon which we too often split is in an over-estimate of our ability, or in the ignorant conclusion that the means by which professional and mental elevation is attained are artificial; that it is only necessary to get legal permission to put up the tin of "*Doctor*," or "*Attorney at Law*," in order to acquire the coveted rank and position of others. If the lazy shoemaker, tailor, or carpenter were to witness this propensity inverted, to see a doctor mending his boots, or a lawyer cutting out a coat, he would ridicule the absurd effort. And yet these men aspire to be conveyancers, lawyers, and justices, and place on their shutters "*Alderman*," "*Deeds, wills, and other legal instruments drawn here*," and advertise to do without knowledge or skill the things which require education, teaching, and experience, just

as much as the "*art, trade, and mystery*" of making a coat or a shoe.

Let such men go into the professions after they are fit, if they desire to do so, but not without a suitable preparation, or they must be quacks and pettifoggers, and hold a degraded condition, without one tithe of the character they had in their workshop.

To know that we hold rank but with the mean, is crushing to the spirit. To be laughed at by those we have left, where we might have held a respectable position, and to be cut and shunned by those we profess to belong to, is humiliating.

What is the mortification and chagrin of a quack docto[r] for others to know that he has crippled or lost a patient from ignorance! How does he feel as he passes the averted eye or scornful look of an educated and successful physician, who refuses to hold professional consultation with him!

How deep must throb the heart of an ignorant, half-educated lawyer, when he finds himself estopped by pleadings he does not understand, blocked in the face of a court and jury by the skill of his antagonist, and afterwards insulted by his client for stupidity and ignorance!

Both have very many opportunities to hide their ignorance, and to cheat, neither of which would be done except by a scoundrel.

Professional delinquency is so palpable, especially with a lawyer, that want of learning is soon detected, and the presumptuous pretender, however noisy and obtrusive, is speedily put down upon the roll of fools and rogues, from whence he can never escape or be crossed off.

Singular instances of this restless spirit and its consequences are seen in the eagerness with which persons rush into the professions without previous preparation.

The lazy mechanie, or the impudent and broken tradesman, sees a docto[r] riding about to his patients, or a lawyer trying a cause in court, and amuses himself with the delusion that these are easy and conspicuous occupations, by which one can always be in company and live in affluence.

They do not pause to reflect that neither of these professions can be honorably or honestly embarked in without a primary collegiate and a scientific course of studies that should consume the whole period of minority.

No man can be suitably qualified for the office of instruction,

minister of the gospel, principal of academy, professor of college, lawyer or doctor, without a full and thorough course of educational discipline and drill, from the time he is able to say his A B C's until he has reached maturity.

With all these advantages, no man can be more than fit to take stand with respectable cotemporaries, and, with becoming ability and skill, acquit himself to his patrons.

Can any one find himself more effectually rebuked and humiliated for his restless folly in superficially translating himself into the iron harness of a learned profession than to discover—too late, alas! for all his manly sensibilities—that, instead of ease and comfort, he is doomed to a life of drudging, rivalry, and competition? and that, instead of pleasant opportunities for personal display, every professional effort is checkmated and exposed by the skillful dexterity and refined accomplishments of an unsparing and triumphant adversary?

And it is no excuse for ignorance to assume these efforts of learning upon the ground of want of means to obtain an education, any more than it is consistent to murmur at our inability to hold a ship or a farm for lack of capital.

Patient industry and saving will acquire one, perseverance and genius will accomplish the other; and he who attempts banking, or professional responsibility, upon speculation and without stock, must look for bankruptcy and humiliation.

Success in both is by slow and legitimate steps, in taking which, the mind and judgment become adapted to the object, without which the effort is as absurd as the result is disastrous.

Napoleon is said to have aspired to a crown in early life. If he could have obtained it then, he would have passed into the tutelage of a Regent, and never gained, perhaps, the intellectual force for which, by a succession of desperate struggles, he subsequently was eminent.

A citizen of the United States, who recently died, possessed of several millions, would not have husbanded his treasures with so much care and thrift, if, instead of its acquisition by slow and gradual steps, he had found it at his feet, when his whole stock and estate were limited to a single jar of prunes.

#### GENEROSITY A VIRTUE OF HEALTH.

"If it was necessary here, or there was time to refine upon this doctrine, one might further maintain, exclusive of the happiness which the mind itself feels in the exercise of this

virtue, that the very body of man is never in a better state than when he is most inclined to do good offices: that, as nothing more contributes to health than a benevolence of temper, so nothing generally was a stronger indication of it.

“And what seems to confirm this opinion, is an observation, the truth of which must be submitted to every one’s reflection —namely—that a disinclination and backwardness to good is often attended, if not produced, by an indisposition of the animal as well as rational part of us:—so naturally do the soul and body, as in other cases so in this, mutually befriend, or prey upon each other. And, indeed, setting aside all abstruser reasoning upon the point, I cannot conceive but that the very *mechanical motions* which maintain life must be performed with more equal vigor and freedom in that man whom a great and good soul perpetually inclines to show mercy to the miserable, than they can be in a poor, sordid, selfish wretch, whose little, contracted heart melts at no man’s affliction; but sits brooding so intently over its own plots and concerns as to see and feel nothing; and, in truth, enjoying nothing beyond himself.”—STERNE’S *Sermons*, vol. i. p. 80.

The foregoing remarks describe some of the causes of mental discomfort and happiness in the social relations. It will be found that they have a wider sphere of action, and hold more control over our conduct and characters, than is supposed.

They are shut up in the secret recesses of the heart, and give impulse to almost every act of our lives, however other reasons may be ostensibly given for them.

The hidden source of these mental impulses is the soul, the spiritual, rational, and immortal substance in man, which distinguishes him from brutes; by which he is enabled to think and reason, and is rendered a subject of moral government. It is the understanding, the intellect, the vital principle, the mind, the mental faculty, the seat and source of intention, purpose, design, inclination, will, desire, opinion, memory, intelligent power, thought, affection, and grace.

Man is born without innate ideas. The rudiments of all knowledge are communicated to him by sensation. The mind derives knowledge from observation and experience. The senses convey into the mind distinct perceptions, such as color, heat, cold, figure, &c.; and those things are called sensible qualities. The notions or ideas acquired in this way are called

sensible knowledge, and the source of that knowledge is termed sensation.

The other fountain which experience furnishes the understanding with knowledge is, that attention we can give to the operations of our own minds, when employed about those ideas which were originally suggested by objects of sense. When the soul reflects on these, we are furnished with a set of notions entirely different from the ideas of sense—such as perception, thinking, doubting, believing, reasoning, knowing, willing, and all the different energies and passions of our minds.

The mind does not seem to have any ideas or notions but those which it obtains by sensation and reflection. These are the sources and first materials of all knowledge.

This may be considered as the maturity of intellect, and then it should be strengthened by useful knowledge and experience, carefully cultivated by industrious research and habits of close thinking. This is true mental and moral education; it is within the reach of every one with moderate mental capacities, whose true pride of character is above his frivolous and brutal appetites; and from these sources alone is mental happiness to be derived.

This course of private education opens and invigorates the understanding, strengthens the judgment and the memory, controls the eccentric and vacillating excitements of temper, refines the emotions of the heart, and settles the mind down with rational and intelligible conclusions, and prepares us to meet without alarm the severest exigencies of life, and arms the soul with hope and faith for death and eternity.

Without going any further into an examination of this subject, it is clear, from these acknowledged metaphysical laws, that man is born without any understanding; and that all his mental powers are acquired through the medium of his senses; and that these ideas and notions, which finally grow to what is understood to be mind, are communicated to the soul by sensations which are acted upon by external objects, simultaneously with the power for moral discrimination.

The notions conceived by the senses are the natural result of their being brought into action; for example, the idea of bitterness would not be excited by the taste of sweetness, nor the notion of pleasure by the sensation of pain; nor can the distinctions between right and wrong enter into the mind through the

senses. This must be the work of intelligent power, a faculty of the mind which is gradually brought into action with its other powers: and experience has established that these faculties are governed by their own secret impulses, and not by any innate sense of right or wrong.

The process of these moral and mental inductions is referred to, to show their simultaneous action upon the soul, and to show also the moral responsibilities that fall upon us at the first dawn of reason.

For that which occurs before the mind has sufficiently acquired the rudiments of knowledge we are not accountable; but after we have obtained sufficient information to comprehend the will of the Creator, and to understand the distinctions between right and wrong, there is no further probation of irresponsibility; good and evil are set before us, which are as susceptible of discrimination as tangible objects, and we are accountable for our choice.

An infant will detect the difference between heat and cold, and sweet and sour, before it can speak; and its capacities for moral discriminations are simultaneously exhibited by the exercise of the will. It manifests design, inclination, opinion, and memory, with the first germs of reason and instinct; and develops the passions of joy, grief, and resentment before it can speak or walk. Just to the extent that it has intelligence to conceive these thoughts, and enact these passions, does it understand that it is wrong to indulge them. The capacity to appreciate a good act is as strong as the ability to understand and perpetrate a bad action. This is unquestionably true, if there is mind sufficient to know them apart. If there is not understanding enough to make this discrimination, then the animal is just so far human as the functions are concerned, and perhaps no further.

The power of speech is no evidence of mind. Natural fools, who will elude fire, can talk; and possess, with the subtlety and craft of some brutes, the plausible appearances without the realities of intellect.

Brutes learn the use of letters and figures, and understand the meaning of words, although they have not the power to articulate them. Dogs and horses will lie down, and rise up, and fetch and carry as bid; and dogs will spell words and make numbers, with loose letters and figures. Dogs too are obviously influenced by affection, in which they display wonderful intelli-

gence by acts of fidelity; all of which is short of the powers of intellect, but which is equal, and sometimes superior, to the understanding possessed by human beings; and wherever this standard of thought is found—where there is no capacity to appreciate the distinctions between right and wrong, there can be no intelligent power; it is but mere instinct, without the vital or spiritual principle of the soul; and the animal passions hold entire dominion.

It is admitted, that brutes give no indications of immortality. Dean Sherlock says: "For though we allow them to be immaterial, they have no natural indications of immortality; they have no happiness or pleasures but what result from, and depend on, their bodies: and therefore, however God disposes of them after death, as far as we can judge, they are not capable of any life or sensation when they are separated from this body."—*Immortality of the Soul*, p. 112.

If this proposition is true, it inevitably leaves all human beings, with similar mental limitations and restrictions, upon a footing in this respect with brutes. Perhaps it is so. If this question could be solved by giving dumb beasts the gift of speech, it would be found, perhaps, that some of them hold a higher intellectual rank than some of our own race.

It will be seen, therefore, that man is much more controlled and managed by his own will, and much more responsible for his own actions, than he is willing to acknowledge. His restless and inconsistent temper makes him deny his guilt and shift it upon others. If he cannot read and write, he is too stubborn to learn; if he is without a trade or a profession, he is too obstinate to acquire them; if he is poor, he is too lazy to earn wealth by honest industry; if he is not in the sphere or condition of life he would aspire to, he will not patiently employ the means by which these preferments are obtained: but indulges his wicked temper in abusing his parents for his bad fortunes, and devours his peace in murmurs, jealousy, and bitterness. The pernicious springs of all these secret impulses are found with the brutal propensities.

#### USE OF OUR PASSIONS.

"Our passions were given us to perfect and accomplish our natures, though by accidental misapplications to unworthy objects they may turn to our degradation and dishonor. We may indeed be *debased* as well as *ennobled* by them; but then

the fault is not in the large *sails*, but in the ill *conduct* of the *pilot*, if our vessel miss the haven. The tide of our love can never run too high, provided it take a right *channel*."—*A Collection of Miscellanies*, by JOHN NORRIS, p. 326.

The prevalence and strength of the passions vary; sometimes one or more, and frequently all of them, appear to hold dominion—wine and lust being peculiar to youth; arrogance and ambition with middle life; and avarice and hatred with old age. Some of the passions are more firmly seated than others; but no one can claim exemption from their overruling sway. Whatever may be the repelling strength of conscience, or the efforts of dissimulation, the involuntary and secret influences of some or all of these passions constantly dart through the mind.

And they will hold entire control over us, without the most resolute and constant resistance.

The mind is not only constantly under the influence of these vigorous passions, but it is perpetually exposed to temptations, stimulated by desire, encouraged by examples, and the certainty that all our thoughts are concealed. Everything within and around conspires to prick forward the selfish and licentious spirit of indulgence.

The prevalence of these active and predominating propensities holds this additional advantage over the conscience and the reason. Their strength and power are but seldom counteracted or confronted by the repulsions of intellect. While the passions are vigorous, the mind, with most of us, is apt to be feeble. Perhaps there are ten to one of all the human race whose mental strength is but barely sufficient to provide against the common wants and exigencies of life; so that the secret propensities and selfish inclinations preponderate, and perhaps really govern the conduct of the largest portion of mankind.

Is it, therefore, difficult to explain or account for the immense amount of mental misery with weak and wayward man—the anguish, poverty, ruined health, blasted reputation, shame, remorse, and despair produced by pride, ambition, anger, sloth, lust, debauchery, avarice, and crime?

#### FINALE.

Think twice before you speak or act once; combine and put in requisition all the mental powers, resist the passions of the heart, and restrain the desires of the eye and the flesh; cast

out pride, anger, and lust; shun and stifle temptation; curb in and break down the appetites; avoid and detest fashionable vices; encourage and discipline the mind by habits of strict temperance and constant industry; cheerfully and loyally blend the destinies of life with the inevitable and recuperative relations of honorable marriage and glorious paternity; fervently cherish and sustain the divine inspirations of the immortal substance of the soul, and humbly walk, and devoutly revere God. Do these plain works of righteousness and truth, persevere, be resolute, and help, peace, security, and salvation must come as surely as there is trust to be reposed in the promises of the Almighty Creator of the universe.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE WOOF OF WOE.

Jealousy—Hatred—Riots—Temper—Recklessness—Murmurs—Neglect of health—Peculiarities—Wilfully bad—Giddy—Idleness—Public opinion—Love of approbation—Vanity—Pride—Egotism—Violence—Self-destruction—Mind and morals not reciprocal—Should not be too social—nor too precipitate in marriage, &c.—Drinking—Gaming—Bad company—Towns, &c.—Contradiction—Disputes—Discourtesy—Avarice has no redeeming quality—Ambition has—Suspicion—A tale of a lady and gentleman—Mutual hatred—Error—Temper—Oddities—Looks, &c.—Faults we censure we may have—Behavior—Shame—Derision—Fops—Woman—Honorable old age should be happy—Enthusiasts—Knaves—Tricks—Frauds—Denial of all settled laws—Science and literature—Genius—Psychologists—Indulgence—Lawyers—Opinions—Knowledge—Religion—Judicial abuse—Genius—Truths—References—Comparisons—Intentions—The wayward world.

WE are the arbiters of our own destiny, morally and physically, much more than we suppose ourselves to be.

We neglect the discreet precautions for health and behavior, and then repine at the pain and injured health we have brought upon ourselves, and fret and worry at imaginary unkindness, or at resentments we have ourselves provoked.

Purity of purpose is not incidental to intellectual strength or education; the impulses of a bad heart are inherent. They do not come from ignorance or feeble intellects. Some are almost helpless, and scarcely competent to execute the most simple errands.

They have no perception; they cannot remember more than one thing at a time. If you tell them to bring you a cup and a spoon, they will only fetch the cup.

They have no thrift or forecast, make no provision for winter or age, although they are sometimes affectionate and harmless, while those distinguished for wisdom are sometimes brutal and selfish.

Man is a social being; but this propensity is like all other

appetites, which should be held in proper check and control, and not indulged too much.

The habit of perpetual and unlimited intercourse is unnecessary and unprofitable; it leads to familiarity and bickering.

Mere chatter and gabble is trifling, indecent, and vulgar. There can be no self-respect or proper regard for others where this rudeness is reciprocated. The true source of personal dignity is not reserve, but circumspection; not austerity, but due and careful gravity; not ostentation, but benevolence.

An irrestrainable love for company argues ignorance, a barren intellect, and often leads the inoffensive and harmless into strife.

Instead of selecting a choice and suitable companion, with whom all spare time should be spent, in harmony, refinement, and mutual improvement, frugality and love, so as to secure the certain and permanent elements of safety, peace, and respectability, and make home a paradise, hasty, impulsive matches are made, or good ones neglected: other intimacies are sought, home becomes a boarding-place, an inn, where duty, not love, censure, not forbearance, rules; and societies, clubs, taverns, engine-houses, bowling saloons, volunteer companies, yacht excursions, fish-houses, race-grounds, and gambling rooms are resorted to, to fill up the deep and ever-widening void for mental occupation.

Then come drinking, smoking, late hours, bad company, waste time and money, loss of character, and all the dark and ruinous train of discomforts, afflictions, and ruin, contrived by our own folly, and unjustly charged to chance and bad fortune.

Infinite annoyance comes, too, from a spirit of contradiction, differing in opinion, and raising debates; telling persons they are wrong, and do not understand things; imputing to them ignorance and wilful error.

Unless required for the necessary maintenance of truth, this is wrong, and never fails to make enemies. We may ourselves be in the wrong. Very often disputes involve nothing but mere opinions, which are entitled to equal respect.

A discreet man will not be too emphatic or positive; no one can bear a flat rebuke. The aggressor will be shunned, and perhaps despised.

Opinions are not strengthened by angry vindications; and it is vulgar to raise unnecessary disputes on any occasion.

Avarice, and a desire for riches, is one of the most violent of

all the passions, and develops itself with equal force in every grade of morals, mind, and knowledge.

It is the most sordid propensity; and, where it is uppermost, generally overshadows every good quality.

The rough corners of those in pursuit of fame and glory are sometimes concealed by genius and chivalry; but avarice would seem to go with no redeeming virtue.

There is no limit to the mental torture we inflict on ourselves by the indulgence of unfounded suspicions.

Persons of amiable and interesting qualifications, whose society might improve the sphere of mental happiness, in jealous moods, are suspected of pride and slight; till, with other frets and flirts, we warm up discontent and hate, and fill the soul with bile and choler. These vile propensities aggravate the temper, increase exasperation, and make us miserable. Fratious and fretful dispositions banish all love, justice, and peace, and compel others, in self-defence, to shun them as they would a pestilence.

An amiable but suspicious young gentleman was nervously excited at a group of men, who, as he passed them, whispered to each other, and eyed him sharply; he pursued one of the party for explanation, and was abashed to learn that they were admiring his noble and elegant bearing.

An amiable gentleman and an estimable lady wilfully misunderstood each other. The gentleman imagined that the lady crossed his path at every turn on purpose to annoy and insult him with her arrogance and raillery. At length, at a funeral, where they casually met, he was introduced to and required to walk with her.

This, too, he took for a trick to tantalize and vex him more.

On their way, she recriminated on him the same device, and spiritedly submitted to his sense of honor, if his malice would never be appeased.

Mutual explanations revealed how much they were alike, and that, without any cause, they had been dodging and hating each other most bitterly for more than two years.

Acquaintance wears away prejudices, even with those who are so weak and unjust as to feel unkind towards strangers. But still it is wrong to let temper and jealousy crook the feelings for an imaginary fault or personal dislike.

Every one has his peculiarities; ours may be as disagreeable to others as theirs are to us; and if mutual dislikes are to be

cherished—if no allowance is to be made for matters which appear odd, but are not wrong, all the world will be by the ears, and strife, jostling, and savage rudeness will everywhere prevail.

The same spirit of illiberality gets up a titter, and points at personal imperfection, squinting, a short or stiff leg, bald head, rotund body, being lame, blind, deaf, dumb, very tall or very short, or ugly, broken or hump-backed, bad teeth, defects of health or voice, or poverty, wholly unavoidable, which every one would avoid if he could, and no one is to blame for having, and any of which defects we may unconsciously have, while we are deriding others for the same thing.

The rudest criticism sometimes comes from those who have the same faults, or meaner vices than those which they blame. This is a common failing, and if there be a fault, this illiberality brings it out. Our many faults claim mutual charities, and criticism is provoked upon ourselves by finding fault with others.

Judge not, lest ye be judged. If all occasions for irritation are avoided, there is the greater security for peace and quiet. Guard the temper and the tongue; and let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.

If the sociabilities of life are to be controlled and governed by the temper, the world will be overwhelmed with strife, contention, and bloodshed.

By all these foolish and unhandsome practices we make others unhappy, excite their prejudices, provoke contempt and hatred, and make ourselves wretched with the delusion that we are persecuted by the rudeness of others.

Frivolous and giddy behavior occasions disrespect, and excites suspicion of a doubtful reputation. How many ladies, from their light and equivocal conduct, force discreet and sober persons to doubt the purity of their intentions?

Worthy gentlemen obtain the reputation of fops and rowdies from their extravagant dress and supereilious and blustering deportment.

This family of faults and foibles grows from sheer selfishness, from a settled love of self, and a dogged resolution to indulge our own whims and caprices in utter defiance of the wishes and feelings of others.

Will any well-bred gentleman pretend to excuse to his mother the absurdity of frizzing and perfuming himself up for

a ridiculous flirt and promenade, three or four hours in the middle of the day, when he should be about his business; or for sitting with his feet up in front of hotels, jostling, talking, loudly swearing, drinking, and smoking cigars in the streets, running and fighting about with boisterous firemen, and being seen in company with profligates and gamblers?

If these outrages cannot be justified, how is it that we can expect respectable persons will endure our society, and that we are not thus to become the authors of our own misery and shame?

Can any young man with these habits expect to be countenanced by respectable females? And has he just cause to complain, if, by this conduct, he is banished from the intimacy and friendship of all decent persons?

These are fatal errors, which have plunged thousands into the most inextricable vexations and discomfort. While they loudly complain against the faults of others, they stubbornly perpetrate the same fatal follies.

There is also an inherent propensity to get rid of and slur everything serious by the employment of

#### JOKES.

The propensity for mental inaction and animal sloth is not more inveterate than an inherent reluctance to sustain or encourage anything serious, rational, or just; and there is an impulsive eagerness, under any pretext, however absurd and ridiculous, to get rid of an appeal to the sober judgment for any good object; not so much for fun or joke, as for a pretext to shake loose from the sober dictates of reason, and the obligations of duty; especially if anything severe or cruel can be encouraged by it.

In 1763, a member of the English House of Commons was opposed, in his support of an important revenue bill, in terms which required an answer, and he concluded his reply by putting to his opponent the question, "Tell me where," &c.

This was repeated with strong emphasis two or three times.

At this pause, his shrewd and heartless adversary, Mr. Pitt, rejoined in a musical tone, "Gentle shepherd, tell me where"—a line from a popular ballad, suggested, perhaps, by Allan Ramsay's play of "The Gentle Shepherd"—upon which there followed an uproar of loud and universal laughter.

The result was that the subject of this joke, Mr. Grenville,

lost his just position for personal dignity and influence, and to the day of his death, this excellent man was degraded by the contemptuous nickname of "*Gentle Shepherd.*"—[15th vol. COBBETT's *Parl. History*, 1307.]

If he had prepared a flattering servile address to the throne, instead of honestly trying to make the revenue pay the king's debts, he would not have been made the butt of this coarse and vulgar gibe.

This unpardonable jest was used by the wags to prove the correctness of the adage, that ridicule is stronger than truth; and so it is with fools and knaves, because they hate the truth.

The president of a bank laid before his board of directors a charge against the cashier for granting an unauthorized accommodation to a genteel and popular operator, whose responsibility and private character, he said, were impeached by the police.

"Who says so?" interrupted the cashier.

"The mayor of the city told me so himself," said the president.

"Well, sir," rejoined the cashier, "did his honor the mayor tell you the reason why he had not redeemed his watch, put in the drawer here as three hundred dollars cash, two years ago, by your orders, to take up his note, endorsed by you?"

This retort also vibrated the pretext chord of secret knavery. A thrilling vibration was loudly rung; and amidst the whizzing hum, baffled scrutiny was loudly laughed to scorn.

The same object is sometimes accomplished by trick and plausible address. The president and some half dozen of a board of twenty-four directors of another bank, the rest being pliable chamberlains or solemn pageants, conspired a committee ostensibly for the oversight of exchanges, but really for covert speculations in produce, with the funds of, and for the bank if it failed (as it did turn out), and for themselves if it favorably went.

The plot was well concealed for months, when rumor spread abroad this mighty scheme. At a meeting of this broad board of deep designs, after the current propositions had been ratified, one of the vamped-up eaitiffs, prematurely swollen with recent sensations, rose, inquired if the session was literally secret, winked and writhed, and at length, in whispering anguish, said that he had been chased and persecuted, and even now, as he ascended the steps of the terrace, he had been dogged and harpooned with this odious and vile report, that the committee was

composed of high and honorable men, that they had no seerets, and no report to make, as their duties involved the mere super-vision of the issue and sale of drafts at points where others had no funds, and moved that a card be published by the president, indignantly denouneing this vulgar gossip as a flagrant and atrocieous scandal upon the integrity of the board. To this impassioned philippie the president instantly answered—"You are very right, sir; yes, you are most eminently correct. I pray allow me, Mr. Green—no, I ask pardon, Mr. Verdant—suffer me, Mr. Verdant, to inquire what you say to the people, what answer you give to them, when they ask you these seoreching questions? What reply you make to them, sir?"

"What answer I give them, sir? why, sir, I tell them I know nothing about it, and, sir, I do not know anything about it," said the blubber.

"Well," rejoined the president, "Mr. Verdant, you are a prudent gentleman, for I am sure you do not know anything about it; and, therefore, you are most eninently correect. Mr. Verdant, always give them the same answer. Gentlemen, there is no further business before this board. Gentlemen, you have my thanks, gentlemen, for your attendanee to-day; the board is adjourned, gentlemen."

It is certain that this committee, of whieh the president was ex-officio the chairman, never did make any report, although they supervised the exehange of \$21,000,000 out of that bank into their own pockets and vanished, true samples of adroit and aecomplished rogues.

Young folks beeome impatient and weary of home, and eager to find new society; they push themselves among strangers, instead of cherishing the affections of their natural friends.

Reliance for all exigencies of life must in the end be placed upon relations and family connections; it looks suspieious, and turns to a man's disadvantage, to find him receeiving favors from strangers; whereas it appears better, and adds to one's respectability, when sustained by relations.

The causes which produce these opposite results are found in the behavior of relations and family connections towards each other in early life.

Instead of cherishing a respect and preference for the society of parents and relations, young men and women, upon reaching mature age, slight and avoid them; they seek out invitations from others, and, under covert pretexts, squeeze themselves into their society.

On Christmas and New Year's days, and on similar occasions, instead of making convocations at some family fireside, where the natural reciprocations of kindred and blood may be cherished and confirmed, they scatter amongst strangers, and so these fountains of happiness are neglected, and soon dry up.

The common judgment of young persons should teach them that the true sources of social happiness are only found with relations; and that it is indelicate in them to disturb it by their unwished-for visits upon strangers; that, however they are tolerated by the laws of civility, their presence gives occasion to contrast, embarrassment, and painful restraints to the fresh intercourse of domestic familiarity, the unaffected kindness and harmony of parents and children; that their tender and affectionate interchanges, recognitions, and delicate meetings, as they pass along the smooth current of household happiness, are checked and marred by the presence of gaping and critical sojourners.

Mere calls, and visits of ceremony, which are confined to the reception-room, give ample opportunity for recognition, introductions, and information. They conduce to the delicate cultivation of genteel and social interchanges, and facilitate the means of appropriate selections for parties, and other entertainments, according to the means and taste of those who take part in these fashionable and harmless reciprocations.

All these matters are very well understood. They originate under special invitations, and close with the brief period appropriated for their cheerful indulgence, leaving the family in its former privacy and repose; and with entire liberty to repeat or omit this formality, as their own private feelings may suggest.

These safe and proper limits, prescribed by the well-settled usages of time, should be rigidly maintained; and families should not be disturbed by the intrusion of strangers, under any pretext, however plausible. No mistaken notion of politeness should suffer the sacred security of home to be interrupted by the footfall or the voice of a stranger.

Parents and guardians should peremptorily forbid these gross intrusions upon their domestic peace. Mothers should not suffer their daughters to pay or receive visits which cast into the domestic circle these subtle and pernicious elements of discord.

Young women and young men sometimes contract acquaintances at school, whose families are above or beneath their own. Upon going home, they forget that their education, which has

cost their parents much labor, expense, and anxiety, should be carefully brought back into the family stock for its mutual improvement and advantage. Instead of making these honorable contributions to the pleasure of home, they sometimes become too proud and too indolent to work, and live, as their parents do, require expensive dresses and facilities for company, and, under trifling pretexts and frivolous pretences, are suffered to make long visits to families supposed to have better condition and more favorable appliances for show and company than they have; and thus their honored parents, and brothers and sisters are slighted, neglected, and deserted; their own homes are abandoned and desecrated.

The object of educating children, which should never be given to them at boarding-schools, if it can be avoided, is not to give them a distaste for their homes, and to encourage a contemptuous disposition for their relations; but the better to qualify them to improve the advantages and appreciate the blessings and comforts of home.

The notion is too frequently assumed by children who have been to school, particularly at boarding-schools, that this supposed advantage or refinement has given them a claim to be exempted from the rustic and common-place employments of domestic life; and if this propensity is not checked, then come rebellion, contempt of parental authority, idleness, dissipation, and sometimes ultimate ruin.

The real object of this pernicious passion for visiting is a love of novelty and vapid indulgence.

A disrelish for home and honest industry, and a desire for display, company, fashionable participations, intrigues, and match-making, principally stimulate females to these vagabond excursions.

It is forgotten that by these forbearances their habits, tempers, and propensities are without protection; and that the purity of their principles is exposed to dangerous temptations. They should be taught that the unsophisticated simplicities of their own homes, under the watchful eye of parental protection, is a realm of security for female honor, where the spoiler dares not come; that this is the appropriate and hallowed sphere for preliminating honorable marriage; that here no suitor can be misled or deceived; and that they have a guarantee for his sober, calm, and dependent sincerity.

And they should learn that their affectations of consequence

and obtrusive billeting upon strangers are vulgar and offensive, and that no lady of true pride, good sense, or independence will compromise her character for delicacy and good breeding by any other visits than those of mere ceremony, out of the sphere of her relations and family.

Just in proportion as she treats with attention and regard her own kindred will she be esteemed by persons of true respectability, and secure to herself the proper and suitable opportunities of safe and honorable marriage.

There is no occasion for an incessant and tumultuous intercourse with strangers; unnecessary and sometimes dangerous intimacies are formed by it; no good and much evil may come from it. Protracted visits with strangers blunt modesty, encourage flirtation, pride, extravagance, gadding in and out at late and unseasonable hours, loud and rude conversation, loose deportment, flinging off hats and over-clothes upon the furniture in the best rooms, and using them for the untimely and noisy visits of transient acquaintances, who are wholly unknown perhaps to the family thus disturbed.

It is a false notion of hospitality to encourage these pernicious indulgences, which would not be attempted at home. It throws young ladies loose to their worst propensities, under the dangerous mantle of respectability.

Almost all the seductions of females, married and single, occur from home, or in the absence of their husbands, parents, and brothers.

This exciting and critical period of life—when the passions are impregnable, when all the mental and animal faculties are gushing into puberty, without experience, and prompted by unbounded confidence and self-will—most eminently requires the vigilant eye of parental constraint.

Thousands of males and females have practiced deceptions from home, as to their fortunes, birth, rank, and connections, which there would have been no temptation or opportunity to perpetrate at home; and thousands have made shipwreck of their marriages and character by these pernicious contrivances for imposition and fraud.

No man or woman should think of taking a husband or wife from the swarm of sunshine butterflies and moonlight glow-worms that transiently floats before the youthful and bewildered fancy.

Home, with all its sober realities, is the place in which they

should be most intimately seen and known, before the solemn certainties of conjugality are dreamed of; and even there, where the mutual inspirations are more free from guile, the gloom of discontent too often follows the honeymoon of excitement.

In vanity fair, in the whirlwind of routes, fashionable riots, and promiseuous gatherings, matehes are apt to be formed under the influences of burning passions, or dazzling deceptions, and followed by inevitable disaster, and a total loss of character on both sides.

There is no period of life that furnishes so many rich contributions to mental happiness as intelligent and honorable old age.

The helplessness of infancy, the perils of youth, the untried experiments of maturity, and the anxieties of after-life are now looked back upon with calm and profitable composure amidst the richest conception of social intercourse and the veneration and love so cheerfully and universally accorded to virtuous and amiable old age.

How much there is of the past for intellectual contemplations, and of the future for solemn meditation!

Millions born with us have perished from disaster, poverty, and shame, from all which we have escaped, perhaps, by being blessed with parental tenderness, early instructions, and moral culture, not afforded to those whose lives are now lost in the gloom of the past.

If these merciful providences have armed us with better judgment and morality, and thus secured and prolonged our lives, there is infinite occasion for joy and gratitude.

The exciting irritations of our wayward propensities are gone; no more lust of the flesh to resist, or pride of the eye to contend with; no more burning wrath to quench, or bitter revenge to curb; no restless ambition to control, or gnawing avarice to devour the heart; the consuming furnace of the passions has gone out, and the spiritual and holy faculties of the mind are prepared for refined and elevated reflections.

The baffled conscience, perplexed by hot blood and inflamed appetites, no longer disturbs our dreams with anguish and our souls with remorse. The past has taught us the bright rudiments of wisdom, and a quick capacity to appreciate its practical solemnities; how that the animal indulgencies are transient and destructive, that our wants are few and simple, and that the substantial foundations of human happiness are found in

true knowledge, a reverence for God, and a well-founded reliance upon his mercy.

Amidst the solemn plenitude and calm serenity of pure old age, there are most mercifully furnished, and never withheld, these benign and refreshing assurances.

If there has been a resolute resistance to temptation, the sunset of life, which is the day-dawn of eternity, will be bright and rapturous; but if the conscience has been forced away by infidelity and guilt, the spasmodic and impotent lusts, combined with a constant dread of death, will banish hope and torture the soul with overwhelming horrors and despair.

There is an immense number of persons whose moral obliquities and mental vacillation render them unsteady, capricious, and dangerous.

They agitate the peace and disturb the repose of society, and throw upon it grievous burthens by their wanton and pernicious eccentricities.

As producers of public subsistence, they are wholly useless; and as profligate consumers of its supplies, they are a dead weight.

They excite and mislead the ignorant and thoughtless, and waste the time and the means of the well-disposed and industrious by artful demonstrations of wit and learning, plausible feuds, and skillful appeals to the credulity and restless passions of men.

There are two classes of these frivolous and visionary enthusiasts; those who act under the influence of ignorance and infatuation, and those who are prompted by sordid and sinister motives.

The first reject and deny the truth of all the settled laws of society. They will not consent to improve upon the established wisdom and sober experience of ages; but obstinately denounce and resolutely struggle to demolish them.

The arduous researches and successful scrutiny by which the formation and inherent elements of the globe have been ascertained are presumptuously challenged by an absurd and preposterous system of pedagogue astronomy, denying the ascertained laws of celestial motion, and converting all the planets into oblong revolving cylinders.

All the critical experience and practical wisdom of ages are superseded by a system of ridiculous quackery, professing to

detect the secret emotions of the soul by phrenological developments, and to remove bodily and mental maladies by occult gesticulation, mesmeric incantations, and supernatural conjuring.

These egregious villains are appropriately served up by NICHOLS, who says of them as follows:—

“CONTORTIONS OF INSPIRATION.

“ Bayle says, there may be, and sometimes is, imposture in ecstasies grimaees; but those who boast of being inspired, without evincing by the countenance, or expressions, that their brain is disordered, and without doing any act that is unnatural, ought to be infinitely more suspected of fraud than those who, from time to time, fall into strong convulsions, as the Sibyls did in a greater or less degree.”—NICHOLS’ *Calvinism and Arminianism Compared*, p. 264.

Another school affect to slur and deride the rational literature and sciencee of this age, by contrasting them with the vulgar ballads, coarse morals, and ignorance of former days; and insinuate that a superstitious belief in ghosts and witchcraft warms the imagination, and inspires the soul with more brilliant conceptions than the dull mental appreciations of these times can accomplish.

They would discharge the obscene and revolting seeretions of a dark age upon the better morals and elevated wisdom of this age.

This is a prevalent propensity even with amiable men whose judgments have not been corrected by the conservative influences of an intercourse with the practical affairs of the world.

By the “Evening Bulletin,” MR. DANA is reported to have said, in a lecture delivered by him in Philadelphia, on the 29th of November, 1849, that

“In the ballad age, subjects that were not poetie took that form. Hence we have the rhyming chronicles, and other writings as sluggish as a marsh stream, and yet on whose banks a little bird oft alights and sings. The old poems, however dull, are always natural, and are interspersed here and there with exquisite thoughts.

“The society of that time was more alive to poetry than the present. There are, it is true, more readers now, but there is a wretched race between time and mind, which is fatal to

poetry. In those times, every cottage and castle had its minstrel, with such ballads as *Chevy Chace*, *The Children of the Wood*, &c. The mother sang them to her child, and this influence, if well considered, will satisfy us of the susceptibility of the after man or woman. If in those times there was more of a *terra incognita* in the material world, there was less in the spiritual. This remark may seem to tend toward superstition, but it is a superstition more healthy than skepticism. There was profounder truth in that state of society, when witches, fairies, and dragons were believed in, than in the present, when knowledge scatters all illusions—when nothing is believed but what is comprehended.

“ ‘Oh, fancy ! what an age was that for song !’

“ When you stand with Macbeth and the witches on the heath, or hear Ariel in the air, or look on the brutish Caliban, do you doubt of their existence, or think they are got up only for scenic effect ? In those times the flowers, the earth, the very stones had their mysterious virtues and influences, subject to be called into action by fancy and feeling. We find nothing of this kind now, even in an uneducated man, who has been brought up wholly in communion with nature. The social state has thus acted upon the poet.”

“ The huge breaking up plough of improvement has passed over the earth, and crushed the daisy of the poet.”

“ Modern poetry is the formal result of calculation, and is not spontaneous. The egotism of modern poets is produced by the too great tendency to philosophize on man and nature.”

These unschooled scholars would banish or implicate the wisdom, industry, and science of these times with bygone and exploded superstitions, and stigmatize the rational and practical knowledge of this day with the epithet of Materialism.

There is a set—idle, lazy, desperate, and reckless—more sordid and crafty, who, by knavery, monopolies, frauds, politics, and bigotry, would cheat, rob, and terrify the weak and timorous world out of its rich inheritance of peace and love.

It is said that *the Devil attacks the spirit through the flesh*.

“ The powers of darkness,” says DR. WATTS, in one of his sermons, “ chiefly attack our spirits by means of our flesh. I cannot believe they would have so much advantage over our souls as they have, if our souls were released from flesh and

blood. Satan has a chamber in the imagination ; fancy is his shop, wherin to forge sinful thoughts, and he is very busy at this mischievous work, especially when the powers of nature labor under any disease, and such as affect the head and the nerves. He seizes the unhappy opportunity, and gives greater disturbances to the mind by combining the images of the brain in an irregular manner, and stimulating and urging onward the too unruly passions. The crafty adversary is ever ready to fish, as we say, in troubled waters, where the humors of the body are out of order." Vol. i. p. 49 (Leeds edition).

Indulgencee to these propensities does not seem to be of individual benefit or public profit : for as to toleration,

"As to the thing itself," says JEREMY TAYLOR, "the truth is, it is better in eontemplation than practiee, for reekon all that is got by it when you come to handle it, and it can never satisfy for the infinite disorders happening in the government, the scandal to religion, the seeret dangers to publie societies, the growth of heresy, the nursing up of parties to a grandeur so considerable as to be able in their own time to change the laws and the government. So that, if the question be whether mere opinions are to be prosecuted, it is eertainly true they ought not. But if it be considered how by opinions men rifle the affairs of kingdoms, it is also as eertain they ought not to be made public and permitted."

And the mental metaphysics of man would seem to increase the perplexity of his mysterious character.

#### LAWYERS' LIVES.

"Their practice (the lawyers') may truly be ealled practice, and nothing but praetiee, for no state of life is so troublesome and laborious as theirs : such days of essoyn, such days of appearance ; so many writs, so many actions, so many offieers, so many eourts, so many motions, such judgments, such orders. What throngs and multitudes of clients daily attend them ! I commend the wisdom of our forefathers, who, close by the hall erected a chureh, where they might take the open air, and find it as empty as they left the other peopled and furnished. How are they eontinually busied ! I eould heartily wish that there were more minutes in the hour, more hours in the day, more days in the week, more weeks in the year, more years in their age, that at length they might find out some spare

time to serve God, to intend the actions of nature, to take their own ease and recreation. For now they are over-busied in their bricks and their straw, to lay the foundation of their own names and gentility: that, teaching other men their landmarks and bounds, they may likewise intend their own private inclosures. Well fare the scholar's contentment, who, if he enjoy nothing else, yet surely he doth enjoy himself."—GOODMAN'S *Fall of Man*, p. 171.

## ADVOCATES PLEADING A BAD CAUSE.

BISHOP SANDERSON, in one of his sermons (vol. i. p. 361), touches upon "the great advantage or disadvantage that may be given to a cause, in the pleading, by the artificial insinuations of a powerful orator. That same *flexanimis Pitho*," he says, "and *sudor medulla*, as some of the old heathens termed it, that winning and persuasive faculty which dwelleth in the tongues of some men, whereby they are able not only to work strongly upon the affections of men, but to arrest their judgment also, and to incline them whither way they please, is an excellent endowment of nature, or rather (to speak more properly) an excellent gift of God. Whieh whosoever hath received, is by so much the more bound to be truly thankful to him that gave it, and to do him the best service he can with it, by how much he is enabled thereby to gain more glory to God, and to do more good to human society than most of his brethren are. And the good blessing of God be upon the heads of all those, be they few or many, that use their eloquence aright, and employ their talent in that kind for the advaneement of justice, the quelling of oppression, the repressing and discontenancing of insolency, and the encouraging and proteeting of innocence. But what shall I say then of those, be they many or few, that abuse the gracefulness of their elocution (good speakers, but to ill purposes) to enchant the ears of an easy magistrate with the charms of a fluent tongue, or to cast a mist before the eyes of a weak jury, as jugglers make sport with country people; to make white seem black, or black seem white; or setting a fair varnish upon a rotten post, and a smooth gloss upon a coarse cloth, as Protagoras sometimes boasted that he could make a bad cause good when he listed? By which means judgment is perverted, the hands of violence and robbery strengthened, the edge of the sword of justice abated, great

offenders acquitted, gracious and virtuous men molested and injured. I know not what fitter reward to wish them for their pernicious eloquence, as their best deserved fee, than to remit them over to what David hath assigned them (Psalm cxx.): ‘ What reward shall be given or done unto thee, O thou false tongue? Even mighty and sharp arrows, with hot burning coals ! ’ ”

#### OPINION EASILY DECEIVED.

“ Opinion deceives us more than things. So comes our sense to be more certain than our reason. Men differ more about circumstances than matter. The corruption of our affections misguides the result of our reason. We put a fallacy, by a false argument, upon our understandings. If the vitiosity of humor doth oft put a cozenage upon the radiancy of sight, so that it sees through deceiving eyes the false colors of things, not as they are, but as they seem—(peradventure choler hath given a percolation to the crystalline humor of the eye, or phlegme hath made an uneven commixture or thickness in the optie organ, or the like, by which means all is represented yellow, or all seems black, or of the darker dye, that the sight returns to the common sense)—why may not men’s understandings be likewise so deceived? As sure they are abused. For most men, yea, many of the higher form of brain, being in love with their own parts, or their credit, commit first the error, then undertake to make it a part of their resolution (rather than to recede from misapprehended or delivered untruths) to account it as a commencement of honor and maintenance of affected reputation, either to proceed to further obliquity, or at least to take up the stand with obstinaey. By this means have we not only lost much of our peace, but even the clear evidence of truth. How comes else such a gladiatory in the schools (to omit the pulpits), such challenges of the pen, such animosities in discourse, as if our natures were less inclinable to conversation than to combat?

“ Nor have things indifferent been hereby made the only occasion of the quarrel, of such division; but overrun with misprision, and overcome by pertinacity, they set sail to the Antieyrae, go beside themselves; not only in falling from, but by putting the question upon the principles of reason, and the very fundamentals of religion. Wherby some unwisely think-

ing to add to their stature, to beeome giants among men, have fallen less than the least of beasts; not retaining so much as the prudenee of the bee; yea, coming short of the providence of the pismire; not arriving at the knowledge of the ox, for he knows his master's erib.”—SIR WILLIAM DENNY’s *Pelicanicidium*, p. 222.

The effect of knowledge upon the mind is also found, as it were, to be a burthen, instead of a charm.

#### CARES OF KNOWLEDGE.

“Knowledge is the greatest ornament of a rational soul; and yet that hath its troubles. *Eccles.* i. 18. *For in much wisdom there is much grief, and he that increaseth wisdom increaseth sorrow.* It is not to be attained without great pains and difficulties, without laborious and diligent search, and vast perplexities; whether we consider the blindness of our understandings, or the intricacy of things themselves, the many dark recesses of nature, the implications of causes and effects, besides those accidental difficulties which are occasioned by the subtily and enlargement of error; the variety of intricate opinions, the many involutions of controversies and disputes, which are apt to whirl a man about with a vertigo of contradictory probabilities; and instead of setting, to amuse and distract the mind; so that much study is a wearisomeness to the flesh; and besides, it makes a further trouble to the soul, in regard to the more a man knows, the more he sees there is yet to be known; as a man, the higher he climbs, sees more and more of the way he is to go: and then, he that is versed in the knowledge of the world, sees abundance of mistakes and disorders which he cannot remedy, and which to behold is very sad; and by knowing a great deal, is liable to abundance of contradiction, and opposition from the more peevish and self-willed and ignorant part of mankind, that are vexed because he will not think and say as they do, and they are very prone toensure, and condemn the things they do not understand, for it is most easy so to do; whereas to pierce into the reasons of things, requires a mighty labor, and a succession of deliberate and serious thought, to which the nature of man is averse; and lazily and hastily to judge, requires no trouble: and were it not that it is a man’s duty to know, and that his soul, if it have anything of greatness and amplitude in its faculties, cannot be satisfied without

it, it were a much safer and quieter course to be ignorant. Study and painful inquiries after knowledge do oftentimes exhaust and break our spirits, and prejudice our health, and bring upon us those diseases to which the careless and unthinking seldom are obnoxious. *Eccles. i. 13, 14, 15.* *I have seen all the works that are done under the sun, and behold, all is vanity, and vexation of spirit; that which is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot be numbered.*"—  
TIMOTHY ROGERS: *A Discourse concerning Trouble of Mind*, p. 327.

Deep and profound research, it would seem, disturbs the faith, and staggers the belief of the purest men in the sacred truths of Revealed religion.

WATTS, on Everlasting Punishment, in his preface to the second volume of his discourses on the world to come, says:—

"Were I to pursue my inquiries into this doctrine only by the lights of nature and reason, I fear my natural tenderness might warp me aside from the rules and demands of strict justice, and wise and holy government of the great God.

"I must confess here, if it were possible for the great and blessed God any other way to vindicate his own eternal and unchangeable hatred of sin, the inflexible justice of his government, the wisdom of his severe threatenings, and the veracity of his predictions; if it were also possible for him, without this terrible execution, to vindicate the veracity, sincerity, and wisdom of the prophets and apostles, and Jesus Christ his son, the greatest and chiefest of his divine messengers; and then if the blessed God should at any time, in a consistence with his glorious and incomprehensible perfections, release those wretched creatures from their acute pains and long imprisonment in hell, either with a design of the utter destruction of their beings by annihilation, or to put them into some unknown world, upon a new foot of trial; I think I ought cheerfully and joyfully to accept this appointment of God, for the good of millions of my fellow-creatures, and add my joys and praises to all the songs and triumphs of the heavenly world, in the day of such a divine and glorious release of these prisoners.

"But I feel myself under a necessity of confessing that I am utterly unable to solve these difficulties according to the discoveries of the New Testament."

This is the absurd labyrinth into which we must be led by too

much self-sufficient speculation upon the unrevealed mysteries of Divine wisdom.

St. Paul properly rebuked this profane scrutiny with the Corinthians, to whom he wrote, "Thou fool! that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die." (1 Cor. chap. xv. ver. 6.) That is to say, that we are not in this state allowed to comprehend the mysteries of Divine wisdom; and that this capacity will not be quickened in the soul until after death.

Nor will reflection, time, or solitude overcome these painful perplexities.

"Such as live in prison, or some desert place, and cannot have company, as many of our country gentlemen do in solitary houses, they must either be alone without companions, or live beyond their means, and entertain all comers as so many hosts, or else converse with their servants and hinds, such as are unequal, inferior to them, and of a contrary disposition; or else, as some do, avoid solitariness, spend their time with lewd fellows in taverns and ale-houses, and thence addiet themselves to some unlawful disports, or dissolute courses."—BURTON'S *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 88.

Another marvelous feature in our eccentric nature is that the emanations of genius seem to be original, and irrespective of parentage, blood, or moral destiny.

"Columbus was the son of a weaver, and a weaver himself. Rabelais son of an apothecary. Claude Lorraine was bred a pastry-cook. Molière son of a tapestry-maker. Cervantes served as a common soldier. Homer was a beggar. Hesiod was the son of a small farmer. Demosthenes of a cutler. Terence was a slave. Richardson was a printer. Oliver Cromwell the son of a brewer. Howard an apprentice to a grocer. Benjamin Franklin a journeyman printer. Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, son of a linen draper. Daniel Defoe was a hosier, and the son of a butcher. Whitfield son of an inn-keeper at Gloucester. Sir Cloudesly Shovel, rear-admiral of England, was an apprentice to a shoemaker, and afterwards a cabin boy. Bishop Prideaux worked in the kitchen at Exeter College, Oxford. Cardinal Wolsey son of a butcher. Ferguson was a shepherd. Niebuhr was a peasant. Thomas Paine son of a stay-maker at Thetford. Dean Tucker was the son of a small farmer in Cardiganshire, and performed his journey to Oxford on foot. Edmund Halley was the son of a soap-boiler at Shoreditch. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, son of a farmer at Ashby de la Zouch.

William Hogarth was put apprentice to an engraver of pewter pots. Dr. Mountain, Bishop of Durham, was the son of a beggar. Lueian was the son of a statuary. Virgil a potter. Horace of a shopkeeper. Plautus a baker. Shakspeare the son of a wool-stapler. Milton of a money-serivener. Cowley son of a hatter. Mallet rose from poverty. Pope son of a merehant. Gay was apprentice to a silk mereer. Dr. Samuel Johnson was son of a bookseller at Litehfield. Akenside son of a buteher at Newcastle. Collins son of a hatter. Samuel Butler son of a farmer. Ben Jonson worked some time as a bricklayer. Robert Burns was a ploughman in Ayrshire. Thomas Chatterton son of a sexton at Radeliff church, Bristol. Thomas Gray was the son of a money-serivener. Matthew Prior son of a joiner in London. Henry Kirke White son of a butcher at Nottingham. Bloomfield and Gifford were shoemakers. Addison, Goldsmith, Otway, and Canning were sons of clergymen. Porson son of a parish clerk. The meehanic arts espeially have reason to be proud of the contributions which their pursuits, leading to a directness and praetical exerceise of the intelleetual faeculties, have added to the glorious constellation of talent which has illuminated the world."—*New York Star.*

And although genius is of celestial origin, and gives us all our best attributes, yet its fate is a mournful commentary upon the transient light whieh beams from human glory.

"Homer was a beggar, Plautus turned a mill, Terenee was a slave, Boethius died in jail; Paul Borghese had fourteen different trades, and yet starved with them all; Tasso was often distressed for 5s.; Bentevoglio was refused admittanee into a hospital he had himself erected; Cervantes died of hunger; Camoens, the celebrated writer of *The Lusiad*, ended his days in an almshouse; and Vaugelas left his body to the surgeons to pay his debts as far as it would go. In our own country, Baeon lived a life of meanness and distress; Sir Walter Raleigh died on the seaffold; Spenser, the charming Spenser, died forsaken and in want; the death of Collins eame through negleet, first causing mental derangement:—

" 'Each lonely scene shall thee restore,  
For thee the tear be duly shed;  
Belov'd till life can charm no more,  
And mourn'd tho' Pity's self be dead.'

"Milton sold his copyright of *Paradise Lost* for £15, at three

payments, and finished his life in obscurity; Dryden lived in poverty and died in distress; Otway died prematurely and through hunger; Lee died in the streets; Steele lived a life of perfect warfare with bailiffs; Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* was sold for a trifle, to save him from the grip of the law; Fielding lies in the burying-ground of the English factory at Lisbon, without a stone to mark the spot; Savage died in prison at Bristol, where he was confined for a debt of £8; Butler lived in penury, and died poor; Chatterton, the child of genius and misfortune, destroyed himself!"

All men bow to the acknowledged truth and beauty of wisdom, but follow the lurking impulses of passion. Even these plain and beautiful precepts, however loved and admired, are practically unheeded and neglected. The laws of God, and the dictates of common prudence, are alike forgotten, and man listlessly floats down upon the stream of time, heedless, thoughtless, and self-willed.

#### EXTRACTS FROM BULWER.

"Never chase a lie, for, if you keep quiet, truth will eventually overtake and destroy it.

"Never trust a person who solicits your confidence, for, in all probability, he will betray you.

"If you want to make a fool of a man, first see if you can easily flatter him, and if you can succeed, your purpose is half gained.

"Secure the approbation of the aged, and you will enjoy the confidence, if not the love, of the young.

"Our affections and our pleasures resemble those fabulous trees described by St. Oderie; the fruits which they bring forth are no sooner ripened into maturity than they are transformed into birds and fly away.

"By examining the tongue of the patient, physicians find out the disease of the body, and philosophers the disease of the mind.

"There is nothing that a vicious man will not do to appear virtuous! He loves nothing so well as his mask. I have known persons who in four weeks have not changed shirts; but who have nevertheless put on a clean collar daily, that they may appear clean.

"A man of an open character naturally discovers his faults more than virtues—the former are not easily forgiven, because the latter are not seen.

"Cato the elder was wont to say that 'the Romans were like sheep—a man were better to drive a flock of them, than one of them.'

"Those who are easily flattered, are always easily cheated."

The quotations from WATTS and others, thrown into this work, contain the pith and strength of refined and vigorous intellects upon the points noticed; and are invoked as well for this as for the purpose of showing that the object here is to point out the wayside signals of human imperfection.

The depravities, eccentricities, and follies of man are not held up for scorn, but for pity; not for ridicule, but for profitable reflection; not in a spirit of criticism and fault-finding, but as it were to thrust the mirror of man's inmost soul before his reluctant gaze, and force him to pause and ponder on his dark deformities; to expose the hidden elements of self-destruction that swell his vile and wicked heart; to warn him how his judgment and conscience are beguiled and misled by his beastly passions and brutal propensities; how he vainly imagines that what he sees and thinks was never known before; how he encourages vanity, self-will, jealousy, suspicion, hatred, revenge, and infidelity; how he would doom himself and others down in ignorance, lust, and superstition; how he wilfully and blindly refuses to admire and adore the glorious transports and the rapturous inspirations poured in upon him from every star in the heavens, and every fragrant grove and sparkling rill in this golden Paradise of God.

And thus the wayward contrarieties of man fill up his cup with ills and sorrow of his own creation; night and rest are profaned by debauchery; diseased and heated appetite is glutted; health, honor, and self-respect defied; hard-earned means are squandered; debts unnecessarily and fraudulently incurred; brutal impulses wantonly indulged; and voluntary infamy and ruin are madly rushed on.

Blind man, mysterious and ungovernable! conscious of ill, and still led blindly on to do it; thy better self, the child of love and truth; thy wicked heart, on mischief firmly bent; no harmony of thought and action; fierce and discordant attributes, baffling and frustrating analogy, reason, duty, and self-protection, and knowing nothing beyond invincible, blind, degenerate choice; looming and weaving for thy inevitable and fatal destiny for life and death,

The warp and woof of human woe!

## CHAPTER V.

### WOMAN.

Extract from Watts—Her creation—Its design—Man made alone—Then woman—Was created a wife—Marriage necessary for her—Secondary with man—He loves parade and fame—She, retirement—He strong—She weak—Yet he seeks home and marriage—Affinities—Mother—Wife—Children—Disregards opposition to her marriage—In power of man—Her patience—Suffering—Sorrows—Faults—These are the best—Those not so—Women of King Henry's age—Emelia Osborn—Thackary—Their employments—Poor and rich—Poverty—Labor—Grades of capacity—Self-government—Quakers' charity—Virtue—Benevolence—Woman's sphere—Lazy men—Extracts—Comparisons—Their separate destiny—Dana's lecture on woman, on Shakspeare—Lucretia Mott in reply to Dana's do.—Women holding offices, &c.—The power and sagacity of a wife in discovering and circumventing an intrigue to prevent her husband's re-election to an office—Marriage essential for this—Wife holds control of husband and children—Husbands lean on home—Fault of wife generally if he deserts it—Exceptions—Her power over his passions and love—Allan Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd.

“THE expanding rose just bursting into beauty has an irresistible bewitchingness;—the blooming bride led triumphantly to the hymeneal altar awakens admiration and interest, and the blush of her cheek fills with delight;—but the charm of maternity is more sublime than these. Heaven has imprinted on the mother's face something beyond this world, something which claims kindred with the skies—the angelic smile, the tender look, the waking, watchful eye which keeps its fond vigil over her slumbering babe.

“These are objects which neither the pencil nor the chisel can touch, which poetry fails to exalt, which the most eloquent tongue in vain would eulogize, and on which all description becomes ineffective. In the heart of men lies this lovely picture; in his sympathies; it reigns in his affections; his eyes look round in vain for such another object on the earth.

“Maternity, ecstatic sound! so twined round our heart that

it must cease to throb ere we forget it! 'Tis our first love; 'tis part of our religion. Nature has set the mother upon such a pinnacle, that our infant eyes and arms are first uplifted to it; we cling to it in manhood; we almost worship it in old age. He who can enter an apartment, and behold the tender babe feeding on its mother's beauty—nourished by the tide of life which flows through her generous veins—without a panting bosom and grateful eye, is no man, but a monster. He who can approach the cradle of sleeping innocence without thinking that 'of such is the kingdom of Heaven,' or view the fond parent hang over its beauties, and half retain her breath, lest she should break its slumbers, with a veneration not beyond all common feeling, is to be avoided in every intercourse in life, and is fit only for the shadow of darkness and the solitude of the desert; though a lone being, far be such feelings from me."—WATTS.

In the 27th verse, 1st chapter of Genesis, it is written:—

"So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them."

And after this, in the 31st verse of the same chapter, it is recorded:—

"And the evening and the morning were the sixth day."

This is the *general* historical statement of the creation of man. In the second chapter, there is given a more detailed and chronological account of it.

It proceeds as follows: The heavens and the earth were finished with the sixth day, and God rested on the seventh day. It then proceeds to state, that the herbs had been made, but had not begun to grow; for there had been no rain, and "there was not a man to till the ground."

A mist then went up, which watered the ground. "And the Lord formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." "And a garden was planted."

And out of the ground every tree did grow. And the man was put into the garden, to dress and keep it; and he was told what fruit he might, and should not eat.

After this, every beast and fowl was formed, and brought to him; and he named them all. Which must have taken several years; for Adam was but a mere man; he was not inspired; and he could not think of names, and call them over, any faster than we can.

But for Adam there was "not found an help meet for him."

Now, after all this, "a deep sleep fell upon Adam ;" when the rib was taken out of his side, of which a woman was made, and "*brought to*," and delivered "*to the man*."

So that man was not only made by himself, but he must have lived alone, or without any other human being, for many years before the woman was made.

The general narrative of the creation of all things, given by the first chapter of the Bible, will not permit the inference to be drawn, that man and woman were both made together, or at the same time; or that there was a female made before Eve, as it would seem by the words of the 27th verse, "Male and female created he them ;" for this was the sixth day, and Adam was not made until after the seventh day ; nor was "*woman*" made until after Adam had been made, nor until after a lapse of time sufficiently long for the execution by him of works of infinite magnitude, and which perhaps required years to perform.

The evil that the Scriptures are inconsistent, in this respect, is thus explained. It is said, by some, that Moses wrote from tradition, three thousand years after the Creation. The more reasonable supposition is that the books of Moses are fragments of ancient and primitive history, made by different individuals of the successive generations from Adam ; which were specially preserved amongst the chosen people of God, and now by Moses collected, arranged, and published for the general information of the rest of mankind.

So that man was made alone ; that is, he was the only human being then made, and he was thus alone for years, tending and dressing an immense garden, from which went out a river so large as to water all the world ; and sorting and naming all the beasts and fowls. During all this time, he lived entirely alone ; and he has, therefore, ever since been better qualified to live alone, or without marriage, than women have been.

Again : man was given universal dominion over all things in the world ; and all things have ever since been held and controlled by him ; his pursuits, his employments, and his power, are designed for the open world ; the woman was not made for any such objects, nor for any purposes but "*a help meet for him*," not a help-mate ; and that her "*conception should be multiplied*," her "*desire should be unto her husband* ;" and that he "*shall rule over her*." How literally true are these Almighty decrees !

Man, therefore, consistently, may live unmarried; his pursuits require him sometimes to remain single; but this is not so with woman.

Most of the occupations of man have always been from home and out of doors; those of woman at home and in doors; man is naturally single and singular, and may remain so. In the beginning he was made by himself, and lived alone.

The first woman was created a wife; all women are born to be wives, and cannot remain single. They were not born alone, and they cannot remain alone. Marriage is a secondary, and not a necessary consideration with man; but with woman it is primary, and absolutely essential. With all the perils of child-bearing, married women live twice as long as those who do not marry; and even those who lead lives of open prostitution have better health, and longer life than virtuous females not espoused. So intimate and urgent are the necessities of their nature identified with the occasions for their intercourse with man.

Man delights in parade and show; woman is timid and helpless; and, when married, prefers and seeks retirement and peace. Man is restless, and roves about by himself; woman is contented, and never leaves her home alone.

He is strong, and she is weak; he is ambitious for wealth and glory—she desires no fame but her husband's love, no riches but his happiness.

He mixes with the world, and racks his genius for distinctions and rank in the arts, sciences, war, and polities; she devotes her life to her household, and her immortal soul to her God.

Notwithstanding these distinctions, it does not follow but that man most ardently prefers matrimony; or that woman is inferior to man. He always looks anxiously to the hour of domestic repose; she has a destiny to fill as important as his, for which she is endowed with wonderful qualifications. "All things" were "very good in the sight" of the great Creator; but one other exercise of his omnipotent power was required to complete its transcendent perfections. To fulfil this object of his holy and exalted conceptions, he finally created woman, as the crowning glory of his Divine wisdom.

Woman combines in her exalted attributes all that was required to accomplish the moral perfections of creation. She was enriched with the proclivity for ardent passion, and per-

petual affinity. Her winning charms fan up the eagerness of mutual love, and startle into joyful life the quick and proud conceptions of mysterious nature.

She is unconscious of her own beauty, knows no guile, and suspects no wrong. If she is poor, she cheerfully works, and wastes nothing; if she has money and lands, with the artless simplicity of a child, she gives them all to her husband; thanks him to take them; and is delighted, if they win his love.

Woman is not fastidious; she marries the wise and ignorant, rich and poor, old and young, good and bad, the ugly and the handsome.

If her husband is more learned or rich, she makes it up by kindness and complacency; if he is poorer, or more ignorant, she cheerfully brings herself down to his level; if older or younger, the spirit of accommodation is still triumphant.

If he is bad, she keeps herself respectable, goes to church, makes him no worse, and very often persuades and reclaims him from sin.

All restraint and opposition to her marriage are unheeded, however proudly born, or delicately educated. If a groom, a gardener, or a stranger, significantly looks at, or pauses for her, he is not suspected, repulsed, or reported; but thought of, watched, and waited for, countenanced, secretly met, and, if marriage is offered, run away with.

She is always in earnest, and is much more dependent on man's respect for her than he has credit for. When he dares to play the part of seducer and bigamist, it would seem that he can do so with impunity.

It would also seem that she was made for no other purpose than marriage, and that, unless she is suffered to fall into this abyss of her manifest destiny, she comes to nothing.

True, she is not now perfect, for she fell with man; but she was once perfect, and now is more perfect than man.

She was not forbidden by God to eat the apple; and it does not appear that Adam told her she must not eat it.

She was not reproached with this as of a wilful sin; besides, she was beguiled; her sin was not profane, and her condemnation was not so heavy.

There are bad women; but there is not one bad woman to every ten thousand bad men: every man has some bad propensity; something sly, selfish, or sinister.

When she is kind and pure, she feels no lack of filial love

by a reekless and forbidden union; nor is the purity of her character compromised by her devotion to an infamous husband.

Impelled by the mysterious spell upon her weak and confiding nature, she steals from her eradle and her home for a elandestine, preeipitate, perhaps a fatal marriage.

Uneonseious of wrong, she flies baek, and easts herself in anguish upon the bosom of her beloved mother, who never spurns her, but, woman-like, sobs in mournful sympathy; she averts her timid eye from the angry brow of a proud and haughty father, at whose feet she kneels, to be discearded, and east out with scorn.

Still she is in solemn earnest; nothing but death ean echange her unextinguishable love for her husband; and if he will suffer her presenee, and give her one-half the ehanee whieh is grudgingly given to a common house-dog, she will follow him round the world, and eling to him, through infidelity, eruelty, disease, infamy, and death; and sacrifice for him her life and soul, totally regardless of the odium and persecution of the world.

Her destiny and her doom were "*thy desire shall be to thy husband*," and "*he shall rule over thee*."

Even with "*the suffering sorrow of her sex*," her natural and inherent instinct is to seek for, to lean upon, and eleave unto man; she always believes him to have honest intentions; and naturally converts slight attentions into purposes of marriage.

It is the predominant thought of her existenee; a pleasing, cheerful dream; a seeret, thrilling impulse of eonfiding nature, fanned into hope, and then to love.

The surrender she makes in marriage is so complete that it would be idolatry but with her; it is not profane in her, for it is God's command.

To her, marriage is a rapturous, lasting banquet; it is the bright and dazzling star of love and homage to her husband.

This is but a faint coloring of the picture of her never-dying love for man.

Her pride, her destiny, begins with joy, and grows with glorious usefulness, or anguish, sorrow, and despair.

The instances in whieh women do not have the moral exel-  
lence and charms peculiar to their sex are very uneommon; so unusual that, when they are without them, even though they

have in some respects delicate appointments; when they have the sly, cold, and severe mental indications of man—it attracts immediate notice; and if they are not brazen and bold in manner, they are destitute of the soft and innocent confidence which so eminently belongs to woman; they have an air of remarkable promptness and self-possession in their speech and deportment which cannot be concealed; the distinction between them and a timid, gentle, true woman, is so obvious, that they seem to be another class of beings. Such women have all the craft and cunning of man, combined with the worst propensities of their own sex. They get this from their fathers. Their number are few. Woe to the husband that gets such a wife! It were better for him to have a millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the sea.

There is no unkindness or courtesy intended by this true and natural portrait of woman.

No tongue can speak, no words can express, the illimitable sphere of thought, passion, and piety, which is exclusively filled up by her wonderful faculties.

Her coming forth into the world is hailed with parental ecstasies of true delight. In infancy, she is a sweet cherub; in childhood, she is bright and angelic; at maturity, she buds and blooms in fragrant glory; and seems as if she was a shrine for all to kneel and worship at.

When a wife, she gladly quits the world; and the million of its habitations, from the whitened cot to the gorgeous palace, point to the empire of her proud and glorious sway.

As a mother, she fills her destiny with blameless love and holy piety; and, as a conscientious believer, she is the blessed mother, as she was the silent sentinel, at the tomb of her beloved Saviour.

She has the seraphic purity of the angels in heaven, with the celestial sympathy and thrilling passions of her sex, which were mysteriously and exclusively bestowed by God upon this final and triumphant work of his Almighty creation.

The foregoing remarks flow from the spontaneous effusion of every man's heart, and he mourns to have them testcd by reality.

The instinctive impulses of his soul are rebuked by the chilling certainty that, with all the fascinations of woman, she too is imperfect; that she is ruled by the same iron sceptre of passion and pride that holds dominion over him, and that very

many of her sex are seerely influeneed by and openly indulge in the worst depravities of our nature. The foregoing picture must therefore be carefully and honestly examined, lest its dazzling charms and fascinating and delusive shades should conceal its imperfections.

Women appear to be almost insensible to the moral deformities of men; and men, from their evil sympathies, do not very much notice each other's depravities, unless provoked.

But the moral imperfections of women are more obvious, from their delicate nature; at this point, we are struck with the terrible changes produced by man's expulsion from paradise.

The sequel develops, with women, most wonderful evidences of this catastrophe.

From her previous purity, and her subsequent apparent perfections the mind is charmed with the novelties of her character, and reluctantly, and not until late in life, is able to cast off this delusion.

However ungallant it may seem to write down these stubborn truths, it is but an act of justice that it should be faithfully performed, to guard man and woman both, against the dangerous consequences of trusting too much to superficial appearances, and the excitements of passion.

All general results are made up of minute details, and without an accurate knowledge of the latter, however apparently insignificant may be the task of their deliberate examination, there is no other true process for the philosophic solution of any proposition.

Bearing in mind these suggestions, it will be found that the objects detected behind the first bright shades of this dazzling picture are the shadows of her inherent follies.

By the fall, her pure and holy nature was changed, and all its calm and heavenly elements were inverted.

Making all just exceptions and allowances for females who are resolute in resisting bad propensities, being the class first described, a reference to the first practical traits of the character of those not included in the first named class discloses the mortifying truth that she has an ungovernable passion for personal display, for gaudy, dashing dress, for every new fashion, and for frivolous company.

For curls, laes, dashing shawls, hats and dresses, feathers and flounces; brilliants, dangling chains, watches, and jewelry;

simpering smiles, sly glances, painted cheeks, lips, and dimples; penciled brows and eyelashes, bergamot and musk, with affected and conspicuous affectations of bashfulness, innocence, and beauty.

She will not believe that plain dress, industry, discretion, unpretending simplicity of deportment and conversation, and an unblemished reputation—these good old-fashioned female virtues, so largely held and modestly practiced by the truly pure of her sex only—will command the esteem of all decent persons, and extort the respect even of the bad.

And that the only persons attracted by perspicuous dress and behavior are fops and libertines, who track out, and assign to such women, married or single, an equivocal position, from which they never escape.

Such women, when married, if they can make a pretext for keeping servants, wholly neglect their house-work and cooking, and denounce them as filthy and vulgar. In this way, their husbands never have wholesome food, or decent accommodations, and their expenses are doubled in waste, and feeding servants and visitors.

Single women of this character maintain an impregnable aversion to house-work, and openly abhor and utterly despise it.

However ignorant, low-born, and unfit for anything but drudgery, they obstinately shun work, although thereby they can always obtain good wages, comfortable homes, and be in the way of obtaining reputable marriages.

The result is that they lead vagrant lives, are always poor, spend everything they can get in fine clothes, never acquire a good reputation; no one can depend on them, nor can they depend on themselves.

They lounge about home as long as they can, put themselves on others, and, when finally compelled to go to work, instead of going into the employment of reputable families, turn circus, riders, supernumeraries, dancers, singers, and actors at theatres, and do anything but work, and become loose and abandoned.

Thousands of families, public houses, hotels, steamboats and steamships and packets, are obliged to employ men to do all the cooking, chamber-work, and waiting, at which women can do more, and do it better, and make better wages than men, and more than they, the women, can make at men's work.

The most absurd and disgusting incongruities are produced by thus inverting all the occupations of life.

The farmer's wife and daughters may, at the in-gatherings, help him, and he may help them, upon any emergency, with propriety ; but, to see a woman ploughing, or at work in a coal-mine, or a man washing dishes or scrubbing floors, is fulsome.

To reciprocate labor is proper, but to make permanent exchange of it is unnatural ; neither can prosper.

Women are most aptly fit for all sorts of house-work, and teaching all the primary branches of learning ; for accoucheering, nursing, manufacturing all kinds of wearing apparel, except mens' hats, boots, and shoes ; keeping account-books, doekets, records, and every kind of shops, and buying and selling all sorts of light wares and merchandises, and executing designs for and the manufactory of silks, ribands, laees, light goods, and for everything appurtenant to works of ornament, in which they can exercise superior taste and skill.

In all this wide range of honorable and useful labor, they far excel the men. For all these pursuits they should be most adequately educated and generously rewarded, and no man should be allowed to compete with them.

There are thousands of men and women whose mental capacities are not up to the level of conventional responsibility, and are, therefore, not adequate to the performance of any employments above subservient and subordinate duty, who have no judgment, and are but barely able to do as they are bid.

There is no end to the abortive efforts of men and women both, even to keep house, or to carry on the most trifling pursuit, upon the strength of their own judgment.

When they discover that they labor under this inefficiency, they should abandon the experiment, and resign themselves to the safe and quiet irresponsibilities of servitude, where they are free from care, and their wants are supplied by their earnings, without being exposed to the risks of experiment and enterprise.

It is absurd to answer these positions by saying that we are all equal, and that a poor person has a right to live in his own house, and to live as well as a rich person. This is not true : every one has an undoubted right to live as he may choose off of the result of his own earning, or off of means acquired by inheritance or devise ; but he has no right to run in debt, or to live by trick and fraud ; and, if he is poor, he is bound to live according to his means.

If he has to work for his living, he should do it patiently,

and not find fault with those who can live without it. He has no right to covet his neighbor's good fortune.

Poverty is the destiny of some—this lies between them and their Maker.

If we are not favored with sagacity sufficient to take part in the sharp competitions of the world, we should be content with a comfortable subsistence, which, by industry, we can always make off of the occasions of others, if we have health and are temperate, and lay by something for infirmity and age.

The art of acquiring property consists more in self-denial and saving than in making money.

Persons in the subsidiary spheres of life are always free from the easualties of a busy and adventurous world, whereas the best qualified are ever failing in the pursuits of wealth and fame.

The imperious laws of self-government apply most obviously, with more force, to poor single females when thrown upon their own resources, than to men.

It may be said, with certainty, that while women remain exclusively in their own spheres, they hold their fortunes in their own hands.

This view of the subject is most strikingly illustrated by a reference to the beautiful and dignified system of the Quakers, whose women are educated with proud emulations for household duty.

Look upon their clean chambers, plain and perfect wardrobes, the order, elegance, and quiet simplicity of all their domestic movements; no noise, confusion, waste, or irregularity; everything to admire, and nothing to criticise.

It has passed into a proverb, that no man can go amiss in taking a wife from these excellent people; that no Quaker woman ever failed to make a good wife; that all their women get married, make their husbands respectable, and that none of them are indigent.

Their poor women are most cheerfully put upon a footing with the family they serve, because, in education and moral worth, they are all alike, eat at the same table, and live together on terms of equality and free intercourse, and mingle with the relations and friends of the family, and thus obtain an elevated reputation for true and real worth, under the auspices of which, the only safe and prudent preliminaries for an honorable marriage can be obtained.

Thousands of poor females are sheltered, and their children fostered behind the delicate curtain of true benevolence everywhere, by respectable families.

This spirit of quiet and unaffected charity is inherent with all virtuous persons.

It is the philanthropic impulse of every generous man, even to his decayed slave and beast of burden.

The woman that will bridle her licentious pride, resolutely abstain from lust and folly, and patiently keep herself in the paths of virtue, will never want a home.

Upon her death-bed she will frankly and devoutly acknowledge that she has had the pure sympathies of all virtuous persons, and that her way has been smoothed with sweeter joys than her brightest hopes had looked for.

Honest poor women are not doomed to helpless poverty; they need not struggle for food, or work and slave themselves for a pittance; these charges are false and fraudulent libels, and altogether destitute of the least shadow of truth.

They are, by the gallantry and courtesy of man, encouraged in all their truant and visionary experiments, in the broad fields of his various employments, in which he may, and she cannot prosper; and millions of them, under the most shallow pretexts, as cousins, friends, and companions, by means of his forbearance, loaf on his hard earnings for life.

No decent woman is ever starved in, or turned from, the nursery or the kitchen, while she behaves herself there.

The house and the hearth-stone is man's sanctuary, for which he hopes, and to which he clings; here rest the pillars of woman's throne.

It is here she may delicately refine and lawfully employ her fascinations to win and keep his love.

Not on the stage nor in the workshop, but at home, about her appropriate and honest labor, and in the sphere for which she was ordained.

Here she can achieve and wield the magic sceptre of nuptial power, and translate all man's follies and empty affectations of superiority into thrilling ecstasies of voluntary bondage.

From these dedicated paths of prosperous preferment she should never wander, and when the sad hour of her departure from these realms of female happiness comes, fear and sorrow strike upon the secret emotions of her conscience.

The same disreputable and disastrous propensities are found

with thousands of ignorant, presumptuous, impatient, and restless young men; too lazy to work, despising everything they have, and grasping for everything they have not got; and vain enough to fancy that they can become illustrious by magic, and that the occupations of patient and honest labor are insignificant, and beneath their notice.

*"The Women of Henry's Age."*—Of the women in King Edward's reign, we may judge and wonder, comparing them with that sex in this present age, by observing what Nicolas Udal writ in his Epistle to Queen Katharine, before the English Paraphrase upon the Gospel of St. John. 'But now in this gracious and blissful time of knowledge, in which it hath pleased God Almighty to reveal and show abroad the light of his most holy Gospel, what a number is there of noble women, espeially here in this realm of England; yea, and how many in the years of tender virginity; not only as well seen, and as familiarly traded in the Latin and Greek tongues, as in their own mother language; but also both in all kinds of profane literature, and liberal arts, exacted, studied, and exereised; and in the Holy Scripture and Theology so ripe, that they are able aptly, cunningly, and with much gracie, either to indite or to translate into the vulgar tongue, for the publie instruction and edifying of the unlearned multitude? Neither is it now a strange thing to hear gentlewomen, instead of vain communication about the moon shining in the water, to use grave and substantial talk in Latin or Greek with their husbands, of godly matters. It is now no news in England, for young damsels in noble houses, and in the courts of princees, instead of cards and other instruments of idle trifling, to have continually in their hands either psalms, homilies, and other devout meditations, or else Paul's Epistles, or some book of Holy Scripture matters; and as familiarly to read or reason thereof in Greek, Latin, French, or Italian as in English. It is now a common thing to see young virgins so nursed and trained in the study of letters, that they willingly set all other pastimes at naught for learning's sake. It is now no news at all to see queens and ladies of most high state and progeny, instead of courtly dallianee, to embrace virtuous exercises of reading and writing, and with most earnest study both early and late, to apply themselves to the acquiring of knowledge as well in all other liberal arts and disciplines, as also most espeially of God and his most holy Word.'”—STRYPE'S *Life of Parker*, p. 180.

The warmth and constancy of woman's love is sometimes as enthusiastic as it is profane, and as selfish as it is fickle. A singular instance of this is put by the author of "Vanity Fair," which he says is true:—

"Amelia, who had just been married to Captain George Osborne, of the British army, saw her husband slip a note in a bouquet to Rebecca Rawdon, at the Duke of Richmond's ball at Brussels, which was held on the evening before the battle of Waterloo. This circumstance, together with his neglect of her, and his marked attentions to Mrs. R. during the whole evening, overwhelmed Mrs. O. with jealousy and despair. The next day Captain Osborne was shot in battle; she forgot the intrigue, gave birth to a son, upon whom she doted with frantic fondness, and dedicated eighteen years in fervent adoration of her husband's picture, and devotion to his memory, and obstinately persevered in rejecting the generous and noble hand of Major Dobbin.

"At length she was rebuked for the folly by Beekey Rawdon, whom she loaded with reproaches, and charged her with falsehood and cruelty. Beekey dispelled the delirium of her mad infatuation by flinging into her face the ball-room invitation to her to abandon her husband Col. Rawdon and elope with Captain Osborne.

"Upon this disclosure, Amelia wiped her eyes, stamped upon the letter, sent for Captain Dobbin, waited in a drenching rain for his arrival in the steamer, leaped into his arms, loaded him with kisses, crawled under his cloak, clung like a maniac to his arm, devoured his hand with caresses, and married him right off; forgot her sainted George, and with a brighter flame more ardently worshiped at another shrine."

For the purpose of the illustration, it is immaterial whether this tale be real or fictitious; for it is a common incident in the every day development of the mysterious character and singular temperament of man and woman both; and another irresistible proof of their surprising, selfish, impulsive, and mental similarity.

The same author takes occasion to give some glowing pictures of the self-denial and incredible endurance of woman.

The following are some of his sympathetic indulgences. They are fraught with exquisite feeling and truth.

"What do men know about woman's martyrdoms? We should go mad had we to endure the hundredth part of those daily pains which are meekly borne by many women. Cease-

less slavery, meeting with no reward ; constant kindness and gentleness, met by cruelty as constant ; love, labor, patience, watchfulness, without so much as the acknowledgment of a good word ; all this how many of them have to bear in quiet, and appear abroad with cheerful faces, as if they felt nothing.

“Tender slaves they are ; they must be hypocrites and weak.

“How many thousands of women are there who perform cheerless duties by day, and sleep in gloomy cells at night ; who watch by thankless sick beds, and suffer the harassment and tyranny of querulous and disappointed old age ; who are doomed to endure the slavery of hospital nurses without wages ; sisters of charity, if you like, without the romance and the sentiment of sacrifice, who strive, fast, watch, and suffer unpitied, and fade away ignobly and unknown.”—THACKARAY.

Notwithstanding these touching remarks upon the sorrows of woman, it must be remembered that the inscrutable wisdom of the same Providence who ordained her fate also pronounced for man his awful doom.

Whether his destiny is not more severe than hers, and whether its stings and agonies are not more poignant, is a speculation left for his cooler deliberation. On this subject, she has not reciprocated to his muse. From the constitution of her nature, she has not, perhaps, the same compassionate and tender sympathy for him that he has for her.

Her yearnings towards him are dependence and for cherish-  
ment ; his for her are pity and protection. She expects his  
succor, and he is ordained to yield it to her. He, therefore,  
appreciates her afflictions more than she can understand his.

She is eminently helpless and impulsive ; he is more endowed with judgment and firmness ; her sensations are like a child, who will desert the hand that feeds it ; his are those of a father, who but seldom forgets his offspring. In the heyday of youth, without provocation, she will abandon the husband of her first love, and cast her babes from her bosom for sensual indulgence ; he but rarely does this without some fierce and impelling urgency.

But this is maintaining that the fate of man involves tribulations like those of woman, instead of showing that, from the acute and peculiar character of woman’s nature, she is not so apt to hold, except by impulse, the concern for man that he does for her, and that, therefore, his lot in life is not a subject of the same consideration with her as hers is with him.

Hence the beautiful and pathetic apostrophes before recited, and the songs and rapturous sympathies of man in all times for woman.

Whereas the writings of woman contain no such exuberant exclamations towards man. She has not expressed her opinion upon this subject.

This is a subject of much interest, and it seems occasion has been taken by an author of acknowledged authority to consult the safe and careful judgment of aged, experienced, and intelligent women, in all spheres of society, from the wife of the humble laborer up to the noble consort—the ignorant and the wise, the ancient and pure matron, widow, and virgin—the mere moralist and the devout believer—and he finds, from these safe and solemn sources of information, that the mental and moral elements of the sexes, as to the reciprocation of their sympathies, are most widely apart; that the destiny of man is, in the sober judgment of candid and intelligent woman, more beset with cares, anxieties, and exposures than hers; and for these reasons she would wish all her children to be daughters; that she would sooner trust to the faith and discretion of a man than to those qualities of woman; she will point out the eccentricities of her infant daughter, whose faults *she* can, but the father cannot detect, from his sexual tenderness. These she will contrast with the ready submission of her son. She marks this spirit of self-will and rebellion consummated and confirmed in the pubescence of the daughter; after when, her secret feelings are contempt of advice, and hatred for restraint; that, when married, she will degrade and drudge her mother, or leave her to helpless want and public charity: while her son will slave his life, forego the allurements, or repudiate the charms of matrimony for his beloved mother; that he will be a father to her, and faithfully cherish his bereaved father; and how seldom the daughter voluntarily, cheerfully, and proudly performs these holy offices of unaffected piety for her parents!

She will point for comparison to every human shed and shelter as the home-place of woman, reared, supplied, and defended by the labor and valor of man.

She will tell you that while woman is nestled and cherished in the closets of plenty and the cloisters of security, millions of men are upon the boisterous ocean, amidst its howling horrors; or, abroad, surrounded by deadly contagions, famine, pestilence, and war.

That millions of men shadow not their door-ways but to feed and slumber, or, at long intervals, to bring home the fruits of their toil for woman ; and that all the imminent and unceasing responsibilities of human existence are thrown upon the hands and rest in the hearts of man.

She will nominate the earth-bed watching, mean subsistenee, oppressive labor, persecutions, crosses, wrongs, and out-door exigencies of man, to which her favored sex is an utter stranger.

And she will certify that, if her character has been clean, and she has been disereet in her deportment, in all her emergencies through life, man has acknowledged her superiority, respeeted her as a sister, revered her as a mother, loved her as a daughter, and defended and cherisched her as his wife.

The same author also says that brutal lust, heartless avarice, and remorseless depravity, abated from this summary of man's relative contraventionalism with woman, and the veraeity of this inventory will be ratified by every intelligent and honest mother who has reacheed the age of fifty years.

These views present, perhaps, a fair representation of the relative charateristies of the sexes, and they go very far to show the great similarity of their physical propensities and animal wants : how essentially defective, and respeetively subservient and neecessary they are to each other's existenee ; how involuntarily blind they are to each other's imperfections in everything whieh eoneerns these sexual deficieencies ; how urgent and impregnable their reciprocal affinities, passions, and mental sensations ; and how eminently important it is for both to be governed by the sober dictates of wisdom, and to avoid the stimulating ex-eitements of desire, in the preliminaries for a congress of their mutual destinies inevitably for life, perhaps for never-ending eternity.

Another author makes the following remarks, from the application of which thousands must be excused ; however, they do apply, no doubt, with melanoholy truth to many more of the sex than the eandor of woman or the gallantry of men would be disposed to aeknowledge.

He says that all women have an inherent propensity to eritieise their husbands, parents, brothers, and children ; that upon emergencies, such as accidents, injuries, persecutions, and alarming illness, their sympathies are sometimes wakened up from self-interest or fear ; but in the ordinary eurrent of domestic affairs, and at church, on visits, drives, &c., they imper-

tinently and impatiently chide, find fault, contradict, and rebuke; that they reserve their urbanity and their smiles for strangers, so much so, that instances occur of surprising contrasts between their rigid and dissatisfied tempers at home, and their bland and captivating complacency abroad; that women hold each other in distrust, suspicion, and jealousy, have no mercy or compassion for each other's peculiarities, errors, or foibles, and unsparingly denounce, condemn, abuse, and persecute each other, right or wrong, if provoked to anger or resentment.

That every frank, intelligent, and experienced woman will acknowledge that she would sooner trust to the first decent-looking man she meets in the streets, if in adversity or want, than to the benevolence or sincerity of any one of her own sex.

That they neglect their household duties, and to have prepared seasonable, well-dressed, and punctual meals, clean lodging-rooms, and clothing; lie in bed or read the newspapers before breakfast, promenade and make calls before dinner, pay or receive visits in the afternoon, and leave the breakfast, dinner, and supper to be got up by ignorant, lazy, wasteful, and filthy servants, too much cooked, or not half done, and carelessly and unseasonably dished.

That they do not provide for their household at suitable times and with care and economy, but send their servants for every cent's worth of groceries and marketing at the moment it is wanted, and thus everything got is stale or of inferior quality, and paid for at the highest prices.

That, although they are wholly dependent for homes, shelter, protection, and subsistence upon their husbands or fathers, upon whose indulgence and purse they unhesitatingly obtrude every whim and caprice, they take no pleasure or pride in ministering kindly, in seasons of fatigue and anxiety, to their exposure, comfort, and personal convenience, in watching and cheerfully anticipating their wants, in keeping clean, neat, and ready for use their clothing, chambers, lodgings, and food; but that, on the contrary, they fret, scold, and snivel; in impatient and impertinent murmurs find fault, evade and refuse to perform the most proper and appropriate offices of conjugal love and filial duty.

It has also been said that they oftentimes entertain no true respect for their domestic protectors and their homes, no genuine spirit of frugality, for economical living and dress; that they will spend every cent they have, and all they can obtain from

others, regardless how it comes, or, if it can be spared, for pernicious indulgences, for cordials, ices, punch, trifling toys, jewelry, and useless decorations of their persons.

That they are naturally idle, love gossip, ogling, bustle, noise, vulgar amusements, indelicate conversations, secret meetings, and intrigues with strangers.

That they go mad for every new thing they see, and, however costly or beautiful the garment is, it is endurable no longer than the caprice lasts which impetuously demanded it.

That, in the hour of bankruptcy or ruin, they will affect to mourn and weep over their fallen husbands or fathers, whose misfortunes they have perhaps accelerated; while there is squandered in the kitchen, where they should be diligently at work, five times as much in servant's waste and wages as would subsist the whole family.

That, under pretexts of charity and visiting, and in defiance of their fathers and husbands, they will billet upon their tables and families, swarms of worthless and lazy acquaintances and men-chasers, who are notorious for going from place to place, to hang about under the contemptible pretext of making themselves useful as companions; while they are really watching for chances to inveigle themselves into advantageous matches: and it is said that such women sometimes reward the credulity of a stupid wife by seducing her husband or son. In such cases, the wife is justly punished for neglecting to devote herself with undivided affection and fidelity to her family, and for not keeping away the serpent of temptation from her hearthstone.

The story is also recorded of an old man who had outlived dragooning and submission, and then peached upon the profligacy of his family, by the production of an undisputed account current of their petty frauds upon his peace and his purse, by which it indubitably appeared, that, all fractions, day visits, parties, and pic-nics off, he had supplied a solid aggregate of extra feed and board for seven sturdy genteel paupers, for twenty-one years, equal to one person living for one hundred and forty years, and more than enough to bring up and educate seven children to the age of twenty-one years.

It is also said that, if the husband revolts at these fashionable abuses, however he discovers their degrading and demoralizing influences upon his family, or expels these loafing vultures from his house, or forbids his family their participation, he is insulted, abused, and denounced as stingy and mean.

These are humiliating truths, and they impulsively raise the just reflection that man's peace, repose, and happiness require no rounds of company and visitors, and that these blessings are most found in retirement, and in avoiding all intimacies except with his own blood and family.

That our time and thoughts should be dedicated to the work of accommodating our habits, tempers, dispositions, and conduct to the proper wishes and happiness of our select friends, and in persuading and encouraging them to cherish with us a cheerful reciprocation of all the affections and purities of the heart.

By this rational and consistent course of life, we may surround ourselves by true and real friends, fastened to us by ties of love and confidence, and thus establish a sure and permanent compact of social faith and safety.

We may mingle with the world, and gaze upon its follies and pageantries for business, instruction, and curiosity; but we should carefully and resolutely shun its intimacies, and avoid its participations. -

We are social creatures, and essential to each other's happiness, but the indiscreet indulgence of this impulse is pernicious to moral purity, and destructive to personal safety.

God made man for solemn and intense, and not for profane or empty sympathies; for love and labor, and not for selfishness and sloth; for faith and hope, and not for treachery and chance; for honor and temperance in all things, and not for falsehood and extravagance; for wise and select friendships, and not for careless and promiscuous consort with an obscene and degenerated world.

Perhaps few minds are prepared to emit the refined and beautiful sentiments contained in the lectures, a very faithful abstract of which is hereafter given from the "Evening Bulletin" of Philadelphia, December, 1849.

The author of these rich and glowing emanations, by reason, it is supposed, of his not being more familiar with the practical affairs of life, is somewhat visionary in his abstractions on literature; notwithstanding this, he is eminently qualified for the most delicate and chaste conceptions of the character of woman.

By reason of his seclusion from the world, it will be remarked that his ideas upon this interesting subject are principally addressed to her affections, moral excellencies, and intel-

lectual affinities, rather than to her personal qualities and relative or domestic attributes.

But it is to be regretted that his better reflections had not been also bestowed upon the character and powers of Shakespeare, whose women he uses for illustrating his views of the female character; that it did not occur to him to think further upon the causes and sources of that great man's triumphs of thought and expression; his surprising and extraordinary faculties of conceiving and portraying fiction without fault, and exposing nature without fiction; his boundless capacities for solemn meditation, vivid wit, biting sarcasm, bitter hatred, fierce revenge, brilliant fancy, and burning love.

Whether all these conspicuous elements of Shakespeare's transcendent intellect were inspired, as he contends, by the manners and literature of his time, the character of which, according to the present standard of intelligence and propriety, must have been vulgar, degraded, and superstitious, if it is to be judged of by the liberal use he makes of obscene language and extravagant and unnatural representations; or whether these mental inspirations of the great poet, as is here suggested, are not more satisfactorily to be accounted for in the vigor of his judgment, his vast knowledge, disciplined experience, refined excitement, glowing fancy, ardent enthusiasm, intense study, resolute and untiring labor through life, together with a keen and constant watch upon the practical character and graphic effects excited by the mental and physical living enactments of his lofty impersonations, by which he was enabled to magnify his generating powers, and cull, and catch, and treasure up, now a bright and then a brighter spark, until the brilliant and dazzling splendor of his anxious and exalted creation was perfected.

The notes of Mr. Dana's lectures upon

#### WOMAN

are as follows:—

##### *Mr. Dana's Third Lecture.*

TUESDAY EVENING, Dec. 4th.

Mr. DANA announced, as the subject of his third lecture, woman—the characteristics of the sex, and the essential differences between the nature of man and woman. These differences he considered as grounded in nature, not arbitrary nor

the result of accident. He would not attempt, by reasoning, to prove the distinction, but would set out with it as an admitted truth, to be viewed rather as the result of a sentiment, and lying deeper than the understanding.

He disavowed all sympathy with the tendencies of the times to change the position of woman, and place her in a similar position to man. In the preservation of all that is feminine in her, lies the deep respect we feel for her. The extreme of this doctrine, of changing the condition of woman, is that which claims for her political rights. It rose in England and France about the time of the old French Revolution, then died away, but is alive again. There is again much talk about the rights of woman. There are plenty in the world to set the kettle boiling, and not only one, but the whole range is teeming and bubbling, from the great political kettle down to the little ones. In this outcry about rights and equality, woman will have good luck, if she do not come out of the play like Nick Bottom, in Midsummer Night's Dream, with an ass's head on.

No man, strictly speaking, can be solitary, and continue truly a man. He is as essentially social as he is individual. If his condition is a lower one, it is so in order that another may be developed in a higher state. There must be concession as well as appropriation. The social state must become a representation of the entire man. This condition of society, and the true happiness arising from it, were illustrated by a quotation from an old divine, who, speaking of saints and angels, says that though they differ, yet all are perfectly happy—just as the strings of an instrument are; some are high and others low, yet they produce a perfect harmony. So, from the different degrees of glory in heaven there springs a harmonious order of Divine wisdom, which glorifies every one.

The distinctions of sex designate certain indestructible relations, such as that of father, mother, &c. These imply an order of beings pre-ordained to such relations, possessing mental as well as physical differences. This order is perfect in its kind, and when a division of it takes oecupations not eoncordant with its nature, we perceive a jar, and the distinctive attributes are more or less effaced. Each sex is peculiar, and has its limited attributes. Woman has hers, and whenever ambition leads her to attempt to act the man, she, so far, ceases to be a woman.

We look on nothing finite when it is single, which does not cause a sense of loneliness. A solitary field flower creates a

feeling of sadness which we do not experience when we see two in company. This companionship of all things in nature was illustrated by a quotation from Jones Very, commencing—

“Thou hast not let the rough-barked tree to grow,  
Without a mate, upon this bank,” &c.

We see everywhere opposite qualities, a union of which is necessary for perfection. This arises from the principle of sex. Every attribute requires, in the opposite sex, an opposite quality to make a perfect whole. This shows no inferiority in either. It is a principle pervading all organic nature. No creation comes from God in a single line, but with a corresponding line, there being in one an excess to meet the deficiencies of the other. The two united become what neither could have been alone. Man and wife then become one, and their union realizes one perfect being. The following passage from Shakespeare was quoted as containing the sum and essence of the lecturer's thoughts upon this point:—

“He is the half-part of a blessed man,  
Left to be finished by such a she;  
And she a fair, divided excellency,  
Whose fullness of perfection lies in him.  
O, two such silver currents, when they join,  
Do glorify the banks that bound them in.”

Every attempt to make a sex independent destroys the qualities of the sex. The right way to realize the true relation of sex to sex is to cherish, as sacred, the sentiments, the affections, the moral and the intellectual attributes, as they are characteristic of each. The intellectual powers, the moral attributes, and the affections have their sexual differences. Under the one name of man, we have two sexes, spiritual as well as physical. The distinction was illustrated by the difference of the passion of love in man and woman. The man or woman who thinks the distinction fanciful has never loved at all. Let woman beware how she strives to love like a man.

She is half to blame who has been tried,  
He comes too near who comes to be denied.

LADY MONTAGUE.

With all her feminineness, she cannot love at all. Let her cultivate her nature in the spirit of a woman, and in nothing else. Herein alone lies her true being, happiness, and power. The difference between courage in the two sexes was also illustrated;

the quality so active in man having in woman a mild countenance, and overcoming, because it strives not.

Much scorn has been expressed at the doctrine of man's supremacy. No true woman, however, will refuse to acknowledge it. There is a sense of reverence in all of us. It is called into action by beauty, by the innocent face of a child. It makes the strong man gentle before a child; and yielding as a woman in the presence of woman. It gives to woman the power of man in the presence of man. That woman is wanting in something essential who has not this feeling of reverence.

If there is a lack of it towards man, there is danger that it may be feeble towards God. Many women may have married, but none have loved, without this reverence.

The humanizing effects of home were beautifully dwelt upon. To man, it belongs to labor; to woman, to fit the laborer for his work. Without woman, man would be but half a man, and the world would experience a jar. The hot haste of modern innovation bids fair to destroy the sentiment of life and the beauty of home.

Must this process, which is just changing the mental world, go on for a dispute about social rights? If woman leave the fireside, and turn political reformers, what a fearful state we should be in! Man would be branded by her at the ballot-box—out-talked by her in the market-place. Such a change would be monstrous. Love would become brutalized—woman would become gross as man; and there would be no longer man and woman, but a new race of moral and mental hybrids.

The lecturer spoke of many modern customs (more prevalent in New England, probably, than here); such as making a display of children's talents through the newspapers; with such announcements as that Miss Brown received the first prize for English grammar, &c. We have Portias innumerable, Daniels come to judgment. We hear of Mrs. President so and so, and committees and secretaries of the same sex. Even in a court-room, during the trial of a case of mercantile interest, businessmen found no places, because the court was full of ladies. There is too much of publicity for the well-being of woman. Let the principle thus commeneed be acted out, and there would soon be corresponding physical changes. The voice and features would take the expression of the changed spirit within.

The leeturer disclaimed that he held woman altogether inferior to man. The intellect is not the highest attribute—the

moral qualities are higher. But the tendency is to force the intellect, and leave the heart fallow. This prevailing pride of intellect is bad enough in man; how much worse in woman! No one mind can know all things. The truest knowledge is to know what to know.

"A little wisdom is better than much knowledge."

Let woman seek and do that for which she is physically and spiritually pre-configured. To the general rule of man's supremacy there are exceptions. Genius is one, but it is independent, and only makes the individual in whom it resides its organ. Woman need not be lost sight of; but many seek notoriety, and, if they can write a love-tale, or pen half-a-dozen stanzas, are pleased to become the gaudy centre of the public gaze. There is too great a propensity among them to make duties abroad, and the womanly attributes are sacrificed to this desire for notoriety. A refined man then feels that something of beauty has gone forth from her. Woman should only cultivate whatever is distinctly womanly. When she begins to talk of rights, she becomes, not manly, but *man-ish*. She seeks notoriety; man seeks fame.

The lecturer then spoke of a less public life being favorable to intellectual culture. Even in the male sex, some of the most interesting minds have been of this retired character. A visitor at such a fireside realizes that here is sitting a wise man.

The true woman is a beautiful being. I pray she may not turn iconoclast, and break the image of man's lower worship. Let her be content to be the softener of the manlier soul, and not come with us into the strife of the world. Let her not come into the glare of the sun; but when the sun goes down, let her appear to grow brighter, like the stars, as the sun recedes. Let her not strive to be the sun, but rather the gentle moon, with face veiled at first, but growing brighter. We watch for her coming, and still call her the new moon.

This lecture was followed by an opposition lecture by Miss LUCRETIA MOTTO, who with great ability confuted some of the constrictions of Mr. Dana. She acknowledged the truth of the reasons given by him for the exclusion of women from public affairs, but contended that these reasons were as obnoxious to the participation of the men as they were to the women; and that, if women were allowed to participate in them, the nature and essence of her character would perhaps overcome, if

not wholly remove these objections. There is much force in this argument. There is no instance of any public oceasion, professing to be decent, in which woman has taken part, that generated disorder and violencce, while these constantly occur in the congregations of men professing to be respectable.

Women know their control over men, and use the most consummate skill in the exereise of this power.

The wife of an offiere of eonsiderable rank discovered that his re-eletion by a legislative body was in some peril.

He had numerous and powerful friends, amongst whom was an old Quaker gentleman of standing, who beeame displeased with the gay habits of the incumbent.

The wife knew her husband's failings ; she placed a high value upon the dignity and franchise of his office. She knew that it would be indiscreet to defy scrutiny ; and resolved upon a stratagem, in which she appealed to the sympathies of the Quaker and his wife.

The story is told by the old Quaker himself, as follows :—

“ I had voted for Lemuel twice, and influenced others to vote for him. I had known his father, and was glad to see him at the head of affairs, with a salary and fees worth some six or eight thousand dollars a year.

“ They said he played and drank too much.

“ I inquired very carefully, and I thought it was worse than it had been reported.

“ When spoken to again upon the subject, I raised a committee, and selecteed another candidate.

“ This was soon buzzed about ; for we made no secret of what we had done, nor the reasons for it.

“ The next day Lemuel called on me.

“ I thought he looked impudent. His bad conduet came to my mind, and I was about to give him a lecture, when he said, ‘ Mr. Lukins, do you know my wife ? ’ I replied, ‘ Yes, eertainly I know thy wife. I knew her father and mother very well ; her mother was my cousin ; her parents once belonged to the old South Meeting. Thee knows all this very well. Why, what dost thou ask me that question for ? ’

“ ‘ Why,’ said Lemuel, ‘ Rachel says she wants to see you ; I do not know what for. She would not tell me ; but she told me to ask you if she should call on you, or if you would be so kind as to pay her a visit this evening after tea.’ I told him yes, I would go. This kind a flurried my politics.

" Lemuel said good-by, and bowed with a sort of pleasant and respectful look, as he did when he was a boy, and went off.

" Somehow, I thought his face did not look so red as it did when he came in.

" I went home, and told my wife the whole story; and she took the cudgels up for me at once. Said she, ' Philip, thee is now in years, and they look up to thee. Don't thee be coaxed off from thy duty; do it firmly. Go and see Rachel. I'll be bound it's about polities. I don't blame her to find and hide for Lemuel. She has no art. Do thou pinch her hard, and she will own up. I do not think she would tell a falsehood. Ask her, Philip, if Lemuel drinks liquor, or plays with dice-boxes. If he does, turn him out. Go and see. I declare I am so curious to know!'

" Well, I went; Rachel let me in. She had on a plain cap, and her baby was in her arms. She had three dear, clean, sweet children. I took up the other two; and she said—' It is so kind in thee to come and see me; I wanted to see thee so bad.'

" 'Why,' said I, 'thee talks with friends!'

" 'Certainly,' said she; 'why not? I always went so; and Lemuel has consented to let me bring up my children that way.'

" 'Is thee not my uncle?' said the oldest boy to me. 'Why?' said I. 'Why,' said he, 'because mother said she named me after thee; and that thee was my uncle.'

" 'Well,' said Rachel, 'now don't think me trying to curry in, for this. I have not seen thee since I was at thy house when I was a child; and thee had father read out for helping build that fort in the last war. And father and mother are both dead; and I have no relations but thee and Lemuel; and so when my first child was born, he let me name him after thee. And I thought some time thee might know it, and it would make thee forgive my dear father.'

" 'And as thee was so much older than I was, I thought it was more respectful to call thee uncle; and it seemed to turn out right; for Lemuel says thee has been his fast friend; and he would not have held his office so long, there is so many wants it, if it had not been for thy influence. And now thee has turned against him; but I am sure thee has not done so from spite, but because thee has been told that he has bad habits.'

" 'And so I told him to ask thee to let me speak to thee.'

Thee must not be offended, and think it forward in me; but let me tell thee that Lemuel is slandered by his enemies, to get him turned out; he does not drink spirits.

“I will tell thee all about it. He has his faults. He went to the theatre four times last winter; and he insisted upon my going, on account of company here that went; but he has not been this winter; and says he will not ask me to go again.

“And he has had several large parties. He says that gentlemen invite him, and that this is expected from him. They eat, and drink, and play cards, smoke cigars, stay late, and dirty the room all over.

“He says thee came once or twice, a little bit.”

“Yes,” said I, “but I did not stay long.”

“Well,” said she, “I wish thee had staid it out, and seen for thyself.”

“She continued: ‘I suppose this is fashionable; but it is very disagreeable to me; and I find all my female friends, whose husbands have these parties, dislike them too.

“I do not think they are genteel; although I am sure there is no gaming in our house; and that Lemuel does not smoke, or get in liquor.

“He comes in to me often, while the company is here.

“I have watched and listened; it would set me distracted, if such things happened; and I am sure, yes I am certain, uncle Philip, that they do not gamble, and that Lemuel don’t drink. But it is all wrong; and I told him something bad would come from it; and so there has; for I am satisfied that some of these very folks he has feasted here are his enemies; and that they have raised these reports, and set thee against him, to get him put out of his office.”

“Raehel told this tale so mildly and artlessly, and with such evident sincerity, that every suspicion I had against her husband was banished.

“I was a good deal moved; and as she paused, I looked at little Philip, a most intellectual, lovely boy, about ten years old, who was earnestly gazing on me, with his eyes full of tears.

“I kissed the two boys; let them off my knees; kissed Raehel and her baby; and asked her if she went first days to old South Meeting?

“She said, ‘Yes.’ ‘Does thee take thy children?’ She said, ‘Yes.’ ‘Well,’ said I, ‘Raehel, fare thee well; farewell, children: Raehel, sit still; thee need not come to the door.

I will tell my wife to come and see thee to-morrow or next day.'

"As I went out, little Philip held fast to my hand with both his hands; and in a low tone, with great feeling, said: 'My father is no drunkard, or gambler; he loves mother and us, and he is a gentleman.'

"Well, I went home, and told my wife all the particulars, just as they had occurred, and just as I had always told her everything that ever happened to me; and waited for her answer.

"After a bit, said I, 'Elizabeth, what hast thou got to say to all this?' 'Why,' said she, 'is that child really named Philip?' 'Yes,' said I, 'there is no doubt of it; and Rachel goes every first day with her children to old South Meeting.'

"'And had on a plain cap? I wonder if she did not put that on for thee.'

"'Oh no,' said I; 'she is dressed plainer than the gay friends, and uses our speech. I think it is all real, and that she told me the truth about the parties they had.'

"'Yes,' said Elizabeth, 'but see what evil comes from these vain and worldly practices! Philip, thee must never go again to these vile assemblies of the wicked. I should not wonder if they had thee up for a blackleg and a sucker too. As to Lemuel, I guess he is the best of them all; and so, if I was thee, I would see that he got re-elected; just to disappoint that covetous set, that are trying to injure Rachel and her children.'"

But it must be borne in mind that the stimulating inducements for this potent and mysterious power of woman can be excited by nothing but marriage.

With this, all the concordant elements of nature combine to produce reciprocal sympathies, and without it all the affections of the heart disunite and fall apart.

Marriage gives the parties, *per se*, an independent rank in all reputable society.

As a general rule, the wife holds the peace and character of her husband and children wholly in her hands. By patience, persuasion, and example she can control them all, spite of their bad habits and froward tempers. There is no such thing as these virtues being wholly disregarded by husband or children.

The latent influence of a good wife and mother is imperceptible. There is a species of moral fear and instinctive reverence

for her in the bosom of her husband and children; and while she maintains this dignified dominion of purity and love, the rank and standard of her domestic sway will remain unchanged.

If her husband is idle, intemperate, or criminal, or her children are rebellious and wicked, still the respectability of her domicil is looked to by the public with deference, and her family, however censurable their conduct, will be countenanced on her account.

There are husbands naturally brutal and heartless towards their wives, but the instances are rare indeed in which even wicked and dissolute men hold their homes in aversion.

It is a part of the selfish nature of every human being, as it is of dumb beasts, to fall back upon their shed or their hovel, and to cherish its shelter and its associations. It is not necessary that there should be ardent love, or the fascinations of beauty and passion, to induce this instinctive preference with man or beast. The sources of this instinct are found in the urgent occasions for repose and refreshment, and in sickness and age.

With the exceptions referred to, there is no husband but may be soothed, coaxed, and subdued by an industrious and faithful wife. If she tempers love and duty with a generous spirit of respect and kindness, ministers to his wants, abstains from reproach, derision, and fault-finding; honors, encourages, sustains, and ratifies his whims, employs her rights mysterious of the nuptial tie, "*Besides that hook of winning fairness which strikes the eye*" (*Cymbeline*, aet v. s. 5), she will soon coil her silken cords and witching charms about his soul, beguile and win his fierce desires, and finally turn his vagrant sensuality to constancy and virtuous love.

All this was done by Eve, which made her Adam's second self in sapless age. And where else can she rest the sole of her foot but in this last spot and refuge ordained by God for woman?

If she finds her husband a brute, without the sensibilities of humanity, or if there exists any insurmountable repugnance towards him, cut the knot, abjure and quit him; but if he will come home, if he is not in grit and grain worse than a reptile, if she has not been betrayed by, and has children to him, and the reasons for leaving him are not imperious, what can she gain by quarreling? There is no rational alternative but to quit in peace, or stay and submit. Let what will come, bear

it all, or go. Attempt no reformation or subjugation by force, violence, or domination.

This is unnatural, repulsive, and revolting.

Every step in this path of madness and folly widens the breach, increases aversion, disgust, and hatred, until in self-defence and anger the husband deserts his wife, or turns her out of his house.

This catastrophe, in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred, is occasioned by the wife's imprudence, for which the world, and especially the sensible part of her own sex, most justly condemn her.

In the scene of domestic turmoil, where she beats the kettle-drum of discord, much more when she breaks up the social compact, what comes of the children but utter desomfiture?

What prudent, well-bred man or woman will venture to marry a son or daughter whose mother could not live with her husband? and where it is found out, and it never can be concealed, that that mother has superadded to her perfidy an extortion for subsistence off of the hard earnings of her husband as the price of his expatriation from her tortures, this forever stamps the last mark of public contempt and scorn upon her suicidal destiny.

Woman, thou art made for peace, love, and duty, and not for strife or dietation! Thou art the gentle dew of Heaven, which freshens and cherishes the verdant grass and the fragrant flower, and not the roaring furious torrent, to sweep them away!

Thou art the living warmth and the glorious light from the skies, to vivify and brighten, and not the fire to consume, or the darkness for despair!

Thou art the celestial paradise of man, and not the serpent to sting and poison his or thy felicity! Love him, or leave him; quit him, or cleave unto him. Beguile, bewitch, and charm him as thou wilt, but fret him not. Banish thyself forever from his presence, or bear in silence all that thy fate ordains.

This secret power and dominion, which women so well know they can triumphantly hold over man, are essentially blended with their nature.

They are conscious of its possession, and by instinct anticipate its strength and success with the confidence of maturity and experience, even in the tender years of budding infancy.

Allan Ramsay, in his *Gentle Shepherd* (Act i. s. 2), inspires Peggy, an artless and simple mountain shepherdess, with these

beautiful and characteristic transports of her ardent soul. Peggy breathes the faultless aspirations of her whole sex: and it will be seen that the glowing picture of her wild and frantic imagination, chaste and brilliant, is sure and true from the first line and tint down to the last dark shadows of life.

The warm emotions of her heaving bosom gently breathe forth these lambent expressions:—

“—— But in whispers let us ken  
That men were made for us, an' we for men.”

And again—

“I'll rin the risk, no ha'e I only fear,  
But rather think ilk langsome day or year,  
'Till I wi' pleasure mount my bridal bed,  
Where on my Patty's breast I'll lean my head.”

And when she is cautioned by Jenny against indulging in this ecstasy of rapture, she banishes all doubts, and says—

“There's some men constanter in love than we;  
They'll reason calmly, an' wi' kindness smile,  
When our short passions wad our peace beguile;  
Sae when sae'er they slight their maiks at hame  
It's ten to onc the wives air maist to blamc.”

And then, wrapped up in thrilling love, she lifts to Heaven her pure and virgin vow, and exclaims—

“There I'll employ, wi' pleasure, a' my art,  
To keep him cheerfu', an' secure his heart:  
A' e'en when weary frae the hill,  
I'll ha' a' things made ready to his will;  
In winter, when he toils thro' wind and rain,  
A bleesing ingle an' a' clear hearthstane;  
Clean bag-a-bag I'll spread upon his board,  
And serve him with the best we can afford;  
Good humor an' white biganets shall be  
Guards to my face, *to keep his love to me*:  
——We'll grow auld together, an' ne'er find  
The lass of youth, when love grows on the mind:  
Bairns an' their bairns mak' sure a firmer tye  
Than aught in love the life of us can spy.”

So that it is seen that this wonderful and triumphant power of woman over man is essentially subservient to, and exclusively depends upon, his concessions, his wants, and his impregnable passions; that its sway is contingent and transient, and

does not spring from the almighty design, or the superior faculties of her special and marvelous creation.

And that, with the apparent inconsistencies of her mysterious character, there are blended the most sublime and perplexing attributes of feebleness and strength, of weakness and power, of purity and craft, of love and hatred, of seraphic light and withering darkness ; and that the bright or lowering developments of these faculties are like the rich and delicate strings of a well-tuned harp, which bring joy or discord, as they are rudely or chastely struck.

## CHAPTER VI.

### MAN AND WOMAN.

Marriage essential for both—Only sexually different—Perish in celibacy—Friendship between same sex—Love only between different sexes—Cannot be forced apart, or together—Love is the tie, and it is irrespective of poverty, mind, or purity—Passion—Taste—Affinities—Invincible—Temptations—Indulgence—Tricks—Frauds—If sinister motive with one or both—Can't be hid after trial—Different nations—Preferences, and appreciations—Laws against bigamy, incest, seduction, do no good—All dissimilarities yield to love—Women better than men—Familiarity with indulgence drawback on matrimonial happiness—Those married early are mutually pure and happy—Ignorance is bliss, &c.—No peace, if doubt—No duplicate man or woman should be about—Involuntary thoughts—Married persons—Circumspection—Danger of unequal matches.

ON the moral and physical developments of the sexes depends their harmonious intercourse; and whenever either sex has been by itself, however numerous, pure, and benevolent, all their moral, mental, and physical energies have worn away to monastic misanthropy; they become greedy cormorants or useless drones.

There is involved in this branch of curious and interesting philosophy no obscurity: it is explained by a correct knowledge of a few plain facts, entirely within the reach of every person of ordinary understanding.

The dissimilarity between the sexes is not so great as it is at first view supposed.

The difference in their dress, the rugged surface of one, and the soft texture of the other, the parts they separately perform in the production and care of their offspring, raise the idea of a more positive distinction than that which really exists between them.

Their occupations make no difference, for these are variously performed by them in different countries.

In some places, the men do the work, and pursue the occupations which are done by the women in other places.

Their infancy, maturity, constitutions, habits, maladies, wants, passions, and appetites are alike ; the difference between them makes them mutually dependent, and increases the occasions for their intercourse and intimacy.

The delicate sympathies of the woman towards man flatter his pride and soothe his hours of care ; while her weakness and timidity find confidence and security in his sterner nature.

And thus their apparent inconsistencies are wisely made unconsciously to suit their respective deficiencies of character.

The concurring tones of the same sex produce jars and discord ; whereas there is harmony with the low keys of one and the dulcet notes of the other.

Between men there can only be friendship, not love ; so, too, between women ; but between man and woman there is exquisite and rapturous love.

These apparent discrepancies have no control over the sensibilities and preferences.

There is no other tie so strong, so deep, and lasting.

Religion may be more devout, but not more fervent than love ; it may be more pure, but not more sincere ; it may be more calm and holy, but not more enthusiastic and resolute.

Love pervades alike the hearts of the good and the bad, and is wholly blind and indifferent to the conduct and character of its object.

There is disinterested purity in love.

Pure men have loved most fondly and devotedly unchaste and licentious women ; and the best women have, with religious fidelity and truth, followed to the prison and the gibbet the most cruel and dissolute men.

There is to this infatuation no stint from poverty, crime, infirmity, or opposition ; all these increase its ardor, and fan up the never-dying flame of true and genuine love. It is a redeeming and heavenly principle of our common nature, but often made subservient to avarice and lust.

Under the dissimulations of love, base, cowardly, and heartless villainies have been perpetrated ; spotless virgins have been despoiled of honor and every earthly hope ; fraudulent marriages have been put upon innocent and confiding females, followed by neglect, insult, treachery, and false and scandalous pretexts for conjugal and fraternal repudiation and banishment ;

and sudden and rash marriages have been contracted without love.

Policy and art will not supply the place of affection ; their disguise is impracticable to each and both.

Truth and sincerity lie at the foundation of love ; its voice and purity speak with miraculous organs through every medium from the soul.

After the eyes are opened, it is an inspiration which cannot be assumed or dissembled by either to the other, or to one's self ; therefore, after the natural affinities are blunted, there never is any misunderstanding upon this subject by any one, however ignorant.

Both know for themselves if it be or be not true love, and neither can conceal this truth from the other.

If both are false, either from rank, fraud, or by mistake, they should be frank and separate, for marriage then is iniquity.

If one, being true, is deceived, agony unutterable must follow : for pure love, perhaps, but seldom fades away ; it is like charity, which beareth all things.

Wild and promiscuous desire worships at a secret shrine ; it is sensual, delights in novel, fierce, and frolicsome impulses ; but love lifts up its hands and heart to Heaven.

It is the rich unction given for hope and joy to husband, wife, parent, child, brother, and sister.

Its power and scope are governed by the temperament alone, and are indifferent to wealth, wisdom, and honor.

The songs of refined, and the ballads of rustic love, are alike harmonious and sweet.

The conjugal affections and the ties of consanguinity are as ripe and faithful with the ignorant savage, the hardened criminal, and the starving beggar, as they are with the wise, the just, and the wealthy.

Instances of the devotion of wives and husbands, parents and children, and other relations, in all these grades ; and of one, elevated by all that is good, giving succor, and clinging to the other, steeped in guilt and infamy, from the days of the prodigal son, have occurred so often as to place these impulses at a point far above all moral or religious motives.

They are irrespective of riches and poverty, learning and ignorance, good and evil, beauty and deformity, youth and age, sickness and health.

We are not, perhaps, in all these respects, blind, except as

we appear so to those who have opposite tastes or views ; that is, we do not see or estimate things through the same medium.

Our prejudices, employments, and education, in matters of business, and in relation to everything in which the choice is concerned, make us sometimes appear ridiculous to each other.

A master carpenter and a lawyer were passengers on board a steamboat, when the lawyer asked the carpenter if he had any news, to which the carpenter replied, with a deep sigh,

“ Yes indeed, to be sure ; why, I am surprised that you have not heard of it ; certainly, it is an awful matter—this strike, ‘ *from six to six, or die!* ’ with the journeymen, is a subject of great magnitude ; there is no telling where it may end.”

“ Poh !” says the lawyer, “ that is nothing ; I asked you if there was any news.”

“ Oh, no,” said the carpenter ; “ no, I have no news about polities, accidents, &c. ; no, I have not heard any. Do you know of anything new, sir ?”

“ Indeed I do,” said the lawyer ; “ did you see an article in the June number of the *Law Journal*, in which the decision of our Supreme Court about tavern licenses and moving court-houses has been reviewed by the Supreme Court of Connecticut, in a mandamus before them about a school-house ? You ought to read it, and see how that Yankee judge overhauls our court ; it is a rouser.”

“ Why,” says the former, “ do you call that news ?—I thought news was something that would make everybody wonder. Who cares about the courts ?—they are always contradicting each other, and that is nothing new.”

At this moment stepped up a bonnet and shoe-dealer, to whom the lawyer said, “ Well, Mr. Harkins, how do you do ? This is a fine day we have, to go down to Cape May. Have you any news, Mr. Harkins ?”

“ Well,” said Harkins ; “ yes, I thank you, I am pretty well ;—I have no news, but I have been doing a very fair business this spring ;—pretty fair, you may say ;—not so good as last fall ;—but I have no right to complain.”

All of these wonder-striken gentlemen were to each other most ridiculous ;—to themselves, or each one with his own craft, they would have been no doubt very interesting ; because they saw the objects that respectively caught their thoughts through different mediums.

These are the varieties of taste as to the ordinary affairs of

life in which there is no excitement beyond that of familiar business.

But where the keen appetites and bad passions are concerned, is it wonderful that one should look with complacency and delight upon that which is disgusting to another? and that the voice, the manner, the person, loathing to some, should be graceful and delicious to others?

This apparent contradiction, but harmony, sometimes physically too, and unknown to the parties, prevails mysteriously in all the connections between men and women, and thus the heterogeneous mass are matched and accommodated; while all these wonderful discordants, when the parties suit, are thus turned from jargon into peace; like the edges of two same teeth saws, which tear each other in total ruin until matched, when they become one solid plate.

There is no force, no law that has ever changed or altered this obstinate and resolute caprice of nature.

There is no decree of the church, nor judgment of a court, that can force a man and woman to live asunder;—if they will, it shall not be so;—or make them live together, if they choose to live separate.

All laws imposing penalties upon these subjects have been total failures.

They have never reformed any one, nor have they ever had the sympathies of the public.

Trials for divorce and *crim. con.* are infamous exposures, which should be forever stopped.

Bigamy is beastly lust, and double-faced fraud, and should be crushed down with unmitigated rigor.

Relations who are able should support their kindred, if paupers; but beyond these domestic derelictions the law, as a remedy by way of reformation or punishment, is an affectation of power which belongs not to man.

With all the eccentricities in the character and dominion of love, it is still an overruling tie. It quietly gets up and firmly establishes queer and strangely assorted matches; and settles down permanently for life millions of the most turbulent and intangible.

It is the great bond of conservative and corrective safety, without which our race would perish, and all the moral elements of this world would fall into chaos.

Religious constraint and family discipline have sought in

vain to establish some code or rule by which marriages should be governed.

Similarity of ages, education, habits, religion, condition, nation, and tongue, has been suggested as essential for this serious, solemn change—a step that involves considerations of greater magnitude than any event in life.

And yet, all these rules of obvious discretion are utterly disregarded, and the most precipitous and reckless nuptials just as often turn out as well as those taken with great deliberation.

Those who do not speak the same language, different religions, old and young, rich and poor, Jew, Christian, and Pagan, marry and permanently live together, with and without the forms of marriage, under circumstances of mutual confidence and harmony that bid defiance to all the theories of reason and morals, and triumphantly sustain the certainty, that love, secret, invincible, and eternal love, is indifferent to morals, laws, learning, and refinement; and that it is the germ and root of all the fruits and shades of paradise.

The desires and propensities of men and women, it is seen, do not materially differ, although in some other respects they are essentially different.

There is much more purity of conduct and character with women than men. They are almost wholly free from very many of the vices of men.

The dissolute of both sexes are generally destitute of all shame. But of the men and women who make pretensions to respectability, the women have a decided advantage over the men.

It is not a practice with this class of women to get intoxicated; whereas men openly get drunk, chew and smoke tobacco, use profane and obscene language, lie, cheat, swindle, gamble, debauch, and maraud.

Women are free from these vices; they stay at home, do their work, nurse and educate their children, and mind their business better than men do.

They take no part in riots, brawls, fights, duels, open lewdness, and other atrocities, as men, who pretend to be genteel and respectable, do with impunity; and to all which brutalities their mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters are expected to submit without a murmur.

They are more economical, waste less money, go to church, and practice pure piety, more than the men do.

Thousands of men professing to be gentlemen, presidents, cashiers, secretaries, treasurers, merchants, directors, and functionaries of institutions, and pew-holders in churches, who demand consideration as persons of respectable standing, and would indignantly resent an insinuation to the contrary, at their own houses, and at club and gaming-houses, debauch and gamble; and very many of them are constantly indulging this propensity, not for genteel excitement, but for the express and sordid purpose of winning money.

Thousands secretly depend on this infamous occupation for the support of their families; and thousands who are husbands and fathers are guilty of open infidelity.

These are practices tolerated and winked at by men of the world, who do not allow each other to suffer in their business or standing on that account.

They are never referred to in the estimate or criterion of private character; and when named, are universally held as gossip or malevolence in the speaker.

If men are outwardly decent, support their families, and keep their contracts, they cannot afford to criticize too closely upon each other's private affairs.

The bare suspicion of any such crimes with a woman would perpetually blast and damn her name, and forever banish her from all decent society.

How comes this distinction, this remarkable difference in the morals and habits of the sexes?

There is one sufficient reason for it; and it is a rule that, when one adequate cause for an effect is shown, no other reason need be required.

It is not necessary to hold that women are naturally better than men, and less inclined to evil—although, perhaps, all history proves this to be true—to account for this undeniable difference between men and women.

Because the whole secret is abundantly explained in the fact that, in early life, men are exposed to temptations which women are free from.

That men become familiar with sin and lose restraint; while women are more away from exposure and temptation.

Whenever women have been exposed to temptation, and are wickedly inclined, and have an opportunity, they are as aban-

doned as men in that which is incident to their propensities; not really worse than men, although a wicked woman seems to be worse than a wicked man, because she is more crafty, and can, with apparent impunity, impose upon the credulity of men.

A bad woman loses more hold upon society than a man; and the contrast is more striking, because it is unusual, and also because, being more feeble, she sooner and more seriously suffers from vice than men do.

It does not follow that, on this account, men are all worse than women; for men who have been morally and carefully reared, particularly in the country, who marry young, and free from pollution, are as exemplary as their wives: they are then upon a footing with women who are unexposed.

So that men and women respectably brought up everywhere, and men unpolluted by indulgence, are generally alike, pure, and free from vice.

The great secret for every species of preservation and deliverance from sin is not to know it.

It is guilt enough to be annoyed and beset by the vile and involuntary ruminations that perpetually beset and haunt the mind, whether asleep or awake; wicked, infamous, secret, disgusting thoughts, which no one can keep off or put down, and which burn the modest cheek with shame.

*“Ignorance is bliss where it is folly to be wise;”* and the great and essential security is an unceasing prayer to be delivered from temptation.

If either husband or wife, or both, are unchaste, or ever have been, it blunts the keen edge of pure and mutual love.

Familiarity with indulgence generates a fondness for novelty so strong, that reformation is inconsistent with our depraved propensities, which, being whet up by secret indulgence, generally give way without remorse as long as the opportunities and power for perpetration last.

There can be no real happiness between married persons where there is real or suspected infidelity.

Men suffer no qualifications or excuse for the familiarities of other men with their wives; it is held to be an unpardonable insult to their honor, and death to the marriage vow.

What, then, must be the bitter pangs of a virtuous wife—surrounded with her children, and no other place to fly to but the grave—to doubt not her husband’s faith to his family, for his pride will keep him there; but to feel and know that the corner-

stone of his plighted love has slipped away, and that she is postponed for another?

No duplicate man or woman should ever be about the habitation, or in the family of husband and wife, upon terms of equality.

The most atrociuous seductions have thus happened.

Not even relations: none but children and dependents should live in intimacy together.

If aged parents, and poor relations, much more cousins, friends, companions, students, &c., demand charity, give it to them from the closet or the purse; but let them not be inmates, to blend their thin and crafty subtleties betwixt man and wife.

In all families, the familiarities of a common hearthstone, with kindly looks and words, imperceptibly get up an off-guard, and dangerous companionship.

Sin and temptation secretly lie in the path, and may betray.

Even if no real harm is meant or done, suspicions and terrible doubts may be raised; and bitterness and sorrow come from harmless looks and words.

Into the domicile of a married man no one should ever come without knocking, nor remain for pretended business, or covert visit; it is a holy, consecrated temple, where no one should have home or toleration but children and servants, and their natural governors.

If husbands and wives will honestly and truly dedicate themselves in mutual, cheerful, willing faith, no poverty, remorse, or shame will hurt their holy home; and death will come, not as a messenger of alarm, but with healing on his wings, and glad and rapturous songs of heavenly joy.

It has been said that no code of laws can be devised, or creed of religion formed, free from the liabilities of abuse; that the depravity of man perverts every good thing to some wicked purpose.

If this rule applies to civil and religious institutions, it would seem to prevail with tenfold force against marriage, which was manifestly designed to furnish infinite happiness and felicity to man; for in all times it has been made the instrument of the basest fraud and oppression.

In this connection, THACKARAY ironically says:—

“To know nothing or little is in the nature of some husbands; to hide is the nature of how many women.

“Oh, ladies! how many of you have surreptitious milliners’

bills? how many of you have gowns and bracelets which you dare not show, or which you wear trembling? trembling, and coaxing with smiles the husband by your side, who does not know the new velvet gown from the old one, or the new bracelet from the last year's, or has any notion that the ragged-looking yellow lace scarf cost forty guineas, and that Madam Bobenat is writing dunning letters every week for the money.

“This class of women do not give their husbands anything, but compel them to give them all. This is a bargain not unfrequently levied in love.”

A grave and serious remark or two may be profitably made upon the subject of these abuses.

No gallantry or false notions of delicacy should screen from notice the artifices employed by either side.

Marriage is a sacred and a solemn contract, which should never be desecrated or profaned for sinister, sordid, or sensual purposes.

The delinquencies of men have been referred to, and those of the women may be touched upon.

Passion, which is blind and impetuous, is too often mistaken for love; passion and love, in some respects, are synonymous. The word love is sometimes used to express the idea of refined and sincere affection, in contradistinction to mere passion.

The instances are rare in which the young, however they claim credit for being under the dominion of love, are able to give a rational explanation of it in the sense in which they affect to understand it.

Take, for example, a young man in love; he is wholly ignorant of and indifferent to the real attributes of a lovely woman: good sense, religion, patient and cheerful industry, economy, cleanliness, love of home, humility, and unaffected resolute, and spotless chastity.

These cardinal and essential female virtues are wholly overlooked amid restless excitement and feverish rapture, perhaps encouraged by permission and proximities unauthorized by the laws of female discretion.

Under these licentious influences, millions of men are snared into secret intrigues, and coaxed and terrified into hasty and clandestine marriages.

In a short time, the delusions vanish, and they then find themselves fastened for life to one who, perhaps, they cannot

love or respect, and who may be altogether destitute of the true elements of an honorable and virtuous woman.

Then come distrust, suspicion, neglect, anger, reprimand, infidelity, strife, hatred, violence, and separation.

If anything but disappointment and discomfiture results from such matches, it is wholly accidental.

The only security for pure marriage, felicity, and honor is a mutual contribution by the parties of the before-mentioned virtues, together with all the appropriate and suitable mental and personal affections and affinities.

The most careful and effectual efforts should be previously made by both parties to ascertain their qualifications in these important respects. With all these precautions, they may be deceived.

Contrivance, craft, and subtlety are constantly employed to mislead, captivate, and beguile young men into marriage.

The vices and depravities of females are concealed, their virtues magnified, false representations are made of their property and expectations; devices are practiced to bring them in the way of respectable men, and the most sensual means are secretly employed to entrap them.

If the fraud fails, seduction is charged, and pistols are invoked for extortion. If it succeeds, and the husband revolts, combinations are formed to bully and frighten, and wring from his timid indiscretion stipends for the wedded pauper and her vagrant associates to feed and fatten upon, by which the persecuted husband is condemned to coventry and bondage for life.

To these numerous cases of thieving and plunder, in the name of marriage and religion, may be added millions of instances in which the complacency and cowardice of the husband are taken advantage of by a bold and heartless wife, who spends her life in laziness and extravagance, compels him to provide for her prodigality by forcing him to run in debt, or covertly running him in debt herself, until his character and credit are blasted, when he is dunred, chased, and persecuted by those he owes—goaded to madness, commits frauds and forgeries, and finally wreaks his vengeance upon his creditors by their secret, brutal murder. A distinguished instance of this character, it is said, recently occurred in a Northern State.

If marriage is a paradise when all things combine for its fruition, so it is a hell when it is agitated by discord and treachery.

Thousands of educated and respectable young men spend half their lives in degrading and perilous pursuits for wealth and fortune, and afterwards forget their proud position in society, and marry low-bred women, under the impulse and incitements of passion, who could mate themselves with ladies of virtue, rank, and fortune, if they would be guided by a spirit of honorable pride, and delicately approach respectable women with the modest and respectful impulses of true gentleness, instead of surrendering themselves to a brutish and reckless intercourse with artful and sordid women, of loose and licentious propensities.

The pride of the eye and the lust of the flesh may be temporarily accommodated with the latter; but the pure elements of self-respect, conjugal happiness, the rich blessings of an honorable and happy home, will be best found with those whose nuptial vows are made by hearts and hands with spotless purity.

High-minded and proudly born females sometimes use great affectation of refinement and purity on the occasion of conjugal disruption. They will not allow any room for excuse by the husband, or censure for themselves. He is ever shamefully and inhumanly in the wrong, and they are eminently spotless, disinterested, humble, and injured.

In their pleas, in proceedings against or by them for divorce, their appeals to the sympathies are mournful and melting; but these tempests of anguish soon subside.

A brief probation, with intimations of permanent and certain settlement, wonderfully and speedily calms down their suffering sorrows. Imputations against their honor and purity, denied on oath in terms of horror, and resented with disdain and scorn, are compounded for by money; the indignant traverse is withdrawn. The infamous and odious assault upon the spotless snow-drift of their fame is proved without opposition, published without remorse or shame, and an irrevocable decree of divorce proclaimed, and entered down upon the open records of the world.

Money, sordid pelf, the hewer of wood and drawer of water, the champion between idleness and labor, poverty and independence, humility and pride, has healed, like Gilead's balm, the sharpest wounds to wedded honor.

Single men and women have no business *intimately* to inter-

course with each other, when there is a difference in rank between them; that is to say, a man has no right to associate with a woman beneath him, and so, too, with women. It necessarily puts the parties upon a dangerous footing.

If the man is above the woman, she is flattered, unguarded, and therefore so much less secure; the man sees and feels it, and is tempted to take advantage of it more than he would venture to do with his equal.

This rule applies with much greater force to women. No one is sufficiently liberal to award proper motives to a woman who is seen upon terms of intimacy with a man beneath her.

Unmarried persons have no occasion to be *intimate* in their intercourse. They should preserve the most rigid decorum in their communication.

Under these restraints, all necessary facilities are afforded for the proper objects of company and conversation, as well as for a preliminary ascertainment of personal peculiarities, with a private view to marriage.

Information as to character, family, &c. should be obtained from other sources.

All *intimacies* that pass this line of circumspection, unless in courtship, are unfavorably looked at by others, implicate the reputation of the parties, excite false and sometimes fatal expectations, and keep the parties out of the appropriate sphere of anti-nuptial correspondence with others.

Married persons, when apart, and with those of the opposite sex, cannot be too guarded in their deportment. The slightest departure from strict formality gives room to suspicion and jealousy.

Respectable persons only are here referred to; those not so follow their depraved propensities.

By the term *respectable* are meant honesty, industry, integrity, and all the domestic virtues, without regard to wealth, poverty, occupation, or the refinements of education and fashionable society.

There is nothing improper or censurable in waiving all these conventional considerations in marriage, however important they are, for the future happiness of the parties.

The refined and educated may, perhaps, improve and bring up the one behind; and love and sincere kindness may sometimes overlook the difference.

The stock of complacency must be very large, however, to

dispense with very wide and palpable disrepancies, after the first ardor of nuptial novelty is over.

Where the parties are upon an equal footing as to their respectability *alone*, the chances for accommodation are sometimes reasonable, but it is a risk which no discreet man or woman will venture upon.

The contingencies of a long and precarious life are too changing, fluctuating, and dangerous for this experiment. All things should be equal and fitting; age, constitution, health, family, education, habits, taste, and prejudices, to secure harmony; even with all these, the charm often fails from natural and latent disaffinities; after excitement is over, affection is wasted, or the eliameterie, mental and physical changes, of time and age come.

There is a delusion prevalent with men, that women below them—the daughters of mean, low-bred men, too lazy and stupid to better their condition, and too depraved to improve their minds and educate their children; that a girl, bred and brought up in filth, menial employments, and loose company, because she appears to be modest, artless, and innocent, and is handsome and compliant, will be more likely to make a good wife, and to be reasonable in her aspirations for dress, company, and show, and more tight and thrifty with her house and family, than the well-bred and carefully educated daughter of intelligent and enterprising men, who, perhaps, by patient and prudent industry, have lifted themselves and their children from a humble condition up into the spheres of respectability and honorable distinction.

The men who take the risk of this precarious and perilous experiment have no right to murmur if they are disappointed.

It will be a mad and desperate defiance of the rules by which the impulses of discretion are respected in all other human undertakings.

## CHAPTER VII.

### BEFORE MARRIAGE.

Marriage—Should be early and suitable, and appropriate—Should abandon all old acquaintances and habits, for mutual affection and kindness—Equality—Open—Frank—No scolding—No concealment of character—If the object is sensual, no disguise—Why—Not so if marriage is intended—Should inquire carefully of the delicacy, temper, character, age—If rich, poor, inferior, deformed, or diseased—Query—When should not marry—Conspiracy for marriage—Miss Euphemia and Mr. Crawler—If both poor, or both rich—Or equal in their means, well—And herein, of poverty with one, and wealth with the other, Query—Secret humiliation—Excitement for marriage should be restrained until the proper pre-requisites are found out—Affinities and disaffinities—Involuntary blindness while the passions last—Frauds by low families on respectable persons for fraudulent marriages—A case in point—Persons of inconsistent principles cannot agree—Judge Lewis' view of the philosophy of marriage.

No man should entertain or encourage aspirations so extravagant as to defer marriage until he is able to support his wife, according to some fancied notions of living, above his present sphere and means.

Let him hunt out a woman who is his equal in all the appropriate moral and social elements; who is heartily willing to begin the world with him upon a scale of domestic economy which he has the ability to support; whether that plan involves the limited accommodations of an unserved attie, a remote cottage, or a full-furnished dwelling.

Let him prepare his mind to abandon all his old personal associations and indulgencies; faithfully and industriously pursue his business; maintain honest participations with his wife, in all his amusements and gratifications; give her his confidenee; respect her opinions; persuade her kindly from her faults; and praise her motives and efforts;—and by his conduct and conversation, give her to feel that she is his equal.

Revere and tenderly minister to all her maternal relations;—

never scold, arraign, or reproach her; and maintain in all things towards her the behavior of a gentleman—such as a well-bred man would hold towards his sainted mother and beloved sister. Let him freely and solemnly conform to these honorable and conservative resolutions.

Let the woman be prepared to reciprocate with the man all these rational preparations for marriage; make herself an example of every female virtue; be cheerful, neat, modest, clean, industrious, saving, and thoroughly accomplished in all that constitutes, not a street stroller, a saloon promenader, a ball-room flirt, or a parlor belle—but in every perfect and winning qualification for an affectionate and faithful wife and mother.

And then, let the man and woman have with each other a fair, free, full, and unreserved understanding;—waste no time, but get married;—the woman at eighteen or nineteen, and the man at twenty-one or twenty-two. Begin life at the right time, and the right age; and in the natural, proper, and honorable way; take position as a respectable member of the community; and fill the distinguished destiny God has offered to him, like a man of true pride.

Marriage should not be hastily contracted. The parties should be certain that both are in earnest, and that they fully answer, and will honestly come up to, the foregoing requirements.

Of this they should be certain; and that there is no covert design, or pursuit for property, or supposed family advantages; desire for sensual indulgences, or sinister objects; and then they should surrender their entire hearts to each other.

The whole feeling with both should be unaffected, true, sincere, genuine, and reciprocal.

*Marriage.*—“To honor marriage more yet, or rather to teach the married how to honor one another, it is said that the wife was made of the husband’s rib; not of his head, for Paul calleth the husband the wife’s head; not of his foot, for he must not set her at his foot; the servant is appointed to serve, and his wife to help. If she must not match with the head, nor stoop at the foot, where shall he set her then? He must set her at his heart; and therefore she which should lie in his bosom was made in his bosom, and should be as close to him as his rib, of which she was fashioned.”—HENRY SMITH’S *Sermons*, p. 12.

"We see many times even the godly couples to jar when they are married, because there is some unfitness between them, which makes odds. What is odds but the contrary to even? Therefore make them even, saith one, and there will be no odds. From hence came the first use of the Ring in weddings, to represent this evenness: for if it be straiter than the finger, it will pineh; and if it be wider than the finger, it will fall off; but if it be fit, it neither pincheth nor slippeth."—*Ibid.*, p. 19.

A marginal note says, "The ceremony is not approved, but the invention declared."

"Let no one doubt that it would be well for both men and women if each sex really knew more of the other; if women were less in the habit of wearing a smiling mask in their intercourse with men, and men showed more of their natural manly selves in the society of women. As it is, there is a sort of hypocrisy of sex on both sides, which is usually practiced out of the family. It is curious to mark how far this goes, and in what little things it shows itself. You shall watch a man talking with men; mark how natural his tones are, how easy his attitude and gestures, if he indulge in any. But see the same man go up to a woman and talk with her: in nine cases out of ten, you see a sudden and total change of bearing and demeanor. His voice has a sort of affectation in it; his body has acquired a sort of ungraceful movement, or is stiffened into a more constrained repose. It is clear that he is acting a part; and a similar change is observable in the woman, who has, generally, one manner for her own sex, and another for the other. While conversing with a man, she is much more alive, and eager, and vivacious, and often thinks it necessary to affect an interest in things in which she feels no real concern. She is playing to the man, as the man is playing to her. They are showing each other the varnished side of their respective selves.

"Now in all social intercourse there is more or less of this sort of admitted and conscious deception, but it is much more elaborate, goes further, and is used more as a blind between persons of the opposite sexes; and it has more serious ill consequences as between men and women than as between man and man, or woman and woman. It is never so much practiced as when people are falling in love with each other, and afterwards, during love-making, and the earlier stages of married life; and then,

all of a sudden, the husband or wife lays aside the mask from sheer impatience of it, or it gets knocked off in some sudden collision, or it slips aside, and then is the first bitter disappointment and disenchantment, on the one side or the other, as the case may be.

“Married people, however, must come to an understanding sooner or later, and at more or less cost. With them the deception is sure to be found out, though the discovery not unfrequently saddens the future of two lives. But in the common give and take of social life, between men and women who are not lovers, nor like to be, this habit of mutual deception leads to a sort of general falseness, unreality, and contemptible, though tolerated, affectation.

“It belongs to women to say what they think of men, but it strikes the writer that he may be pardoned for saying some things which he has observed men think of women, in the hope that he may hit some real ‘blots,’ and, perhaps, touch a quick conscience or so, and thus help, perhaps, to the correction of a bad habit.

“As a general rule, men like natural, easy-mannered, frank, and unaffected women. It is true that some men will tell you they ‘like affectation.’ But inquiry into this will prove that they only like an affectation; some trick, perhaps, or peculiarity, which has for them a mysterious attraction, altogether inexplicable, and which no woman need ever give herself the trouble to seek for, in order to employ it. It is not, indeed, uncommon for a man to declare he likes affectation, because he happens, for the time being, to admire and like an affected woman. But the real charm, then, is not in her affectation: ‘She’s an affected woman,’ in man’s criticism of woman, is blame. So much women may be assured of.”

In all this plain, sensible business, of judicious and necessary preparation for a long life, there should be no flinching, prevarication, or disguise; and there never will be any, if the parties have been properly brought up, and are influenced by pure and honorable feelings.

The primary motive will be honorable marriage, not lust or speculation. All bargains upon this momentous subject should be open and frank—and no concealment of lineage, education, habits, character, connection, and fortune, intentions and purposes; everything should be as sincere as when our souls are in communion with God.

There are by nature so many plain and distinct reciprocations, in the constitution of the sexes, as to render all useless ceremonies between them absurd and ridiculous.

Before marriage, if the motives are honorable, there is mutual confidence, and when their objects are sensual, all forms and ceremonies are dispensed with; and they soon understand each other.

And why shall not the honorable impulses of a true husband and wife in every case be invoked and consulted in advance? Why not be frank and candid when the object is honorable, if unreserved when it is not so?

There is as much candor due to virtue as to licentiousness.

Influenced by honorable intentions for marriage, both men and women, with becoming delicacy, may properly seek each other's acquaintance; and encourage mutual and social interchanges of genteel and liberal familiarity.

It subserves the cause of virtue, maintains a correct sense of mutual respect, and elevates the tone of society, enables young persons to become acquainted with, and to understand each other; prevents imprudent marriages, and scandalous and fatal intrigues.

Whatever precautions may be recommended by education, upon this curious and mysterious subject, its capricious and blindfold obstinacy in youth, it is seen, sometimes rejects all the cautions employed upon less important affairs.

And even with age, marvelous eccentricities are sometimes manifested.

Spring and winter, dry old age, and blooming youth, often harmonize in wonderful concord.

This apparent inconsistency, and why so many queer matches turn out well, finds its explanation, perhaps, in the great law which has so emphatically and mysteriously ordained the sexes for each other.

The hidden instincts, and invincible impulses, which imperceptibly draw them together, and from which the most ungovernable animal sympathies and cohesions proceed, admonish each man and woman, as maturity is approached, solemnly and soberly to resolve upon marriage or celibacy.

Vanity, rashness, speculation, and passion should have no sway.

By this period of life, both sexes have sufficient discretion to know if there is any obstacle in the way of their marriage.

If they are deformed, or labor under any chronic or hereditary complaint, or impurity of lineage, they should calmly and resolutely decide to remain unmarried.

This is a dictate of propriety so obvious that it is scarcely necessary to state it; and yet there is too little regard paid to an indiscretion, even with the many dangerous and revolting consequences flowing from it.

No man or woman, of ordinary, much less refined, sensibility, would be willing to incur the hazard, that a significant physical deformity, such as a humpback, a short leg, a club-foot, a hare-lip, a deformed or blind eye, an absent or withered limb, or a mangy or scalded head, in some unfortunate moment of temper or merriment, might not be made the subject of a sneer, or a smile of derision, of open or covert insult and scorn, and much more, if the other side happened to be in a paroxysm of anger.

It would be absurd for a sensitive and suspicious mind, which all cripples, and persons with these imperfections have, to accept as security for the peace, under such provoking excitements, the supposed or imaginary good taste and benevolence of any man or woman (even though they be husband or wife) that ever lived.

The risk would be too great against the perilous and terrific contingencies of our waggish, irascible, and ungovernable impulses.

■ A deformed man or woman on their own account should never marry: nor should marriage be thought of by those who have hereditary, chronic, or even transient maladies.

The consumption of the lungs, and scrofulous complaints, or any personal or mental malady, are most offensive and odious; and directly descend to, and are inevitably entailed upon, children.

Diseases supposed to be temporary are often hereditary.

If their presence or liability is known to the one who has, or may have them, and not known to the other, the concealment is a base fraud; and if they are known to both, the proximity of the parties is disgusting and unnatural.

There should be a municipal law, to forbid and prevent these infamies, and to make them causes of divorce.

Not less abominable is it for any man or woman to conceal from the other their base birth; that any primogenitor, however remote, had been a judicial or moral malefactor; that

any of them had been a fugitive, with forged name ; had ever been guilty, whether convicted or not, of stealing, counterfeiting, forging, gambling, open prostitution, or any other crime *malus in se* ; of acts criminal in themselves, for which there is no excuse ; or had ever been ducked, drummed out of a camp, or whipped, branded, cropped, imprisoned, or hanged.

All of which are just as certain evidence of base blood in a man as the sac of poison and the deadly fangs of the rattlesnake are proof positive that he is not a harmless worm.

All such persons do know their previous taints and obliquities by the time they are old enough to think of marriage, and then they should firmly resolve to prevent the contagious spread of their fatal distempers ; and resolutely shun all temptations and excitement for cohabitation in any form.

By an honorable celibacy, they should suffer their race, for general good, to be extinguished ; and thus propitiate, perchance, that wrath, by which perhaps, for some awful dissolution, they or their ancestors have been spotted with a plague.

There are parents and children whose sole purpose in this respect is, at all hazards, to obtain a lawful speculation, and to hold their victim to the strict letter of legal liability.

Men by mean devices have obtained the affections and the hands of women, without any motive but money ; and when that end is obtained, their wives are left to cold neglect and brutal desolation.

So, too, with much more craft than it would be supposed belonged to females, for there are some depraved and wicked women. Mothers, aunts, and friends conspire with girls, whose moral perversions have been encouraged, who are sordid, cold, extravagant, artful, and poor, to inveigle respectable men of property, or reliable pursuits.

Plots are formed to legitimate frauds for marriage, with sinister and secret objects.

Introductions are procured ; the family connections, business, and prospects of the gentleman are complimented ; they are all well known and universally respected ; he is told how richly he deserves a virtuous and affectionate wife, who will devote herself to his home and happiness as his pious mother has done to his good old honored father.

Cheerful conversations, sweetened by bland and delicate attentions ; accidental and delightful parties of select friends ; kind and anxious greetings. Looked for him last evening—hope he

has not been indisposed—so kind to come now—must not do so again.

Euphemia was quite worried; confidentially consulted by the mother on an important private affair; affectionate leave-takings; must be sure and come soon; kind good-by; sorrowful farewell, and mournful adieu.

Aunt Betty is delighted with his manners. “Euphemia is a ‘cute little Sibyl; she was sure you would come this morning; would not go out; excused herself to three calls; sent back regrets to invitations; remained at home on purpose for you; (and, in a whisper,) the dear innocent creature is not a bit proud, although she is as rich as a Jewess.

“She is the best housekeeper in the world, too, and as artless as a dove; just you see how she has marked, and mangled, and perfumed a white French linen handkerchief for you. Come, now, go into the parlor; she is all alone there, sorting cotton. Take her by surprise. Excuse *me*, if you please, just five minutes” (purposely enlarged to the whole morning).

Fancy and vanity flattered; person, manners, dress, and taste admired, and passions inflamed.

Next day, the sly finger punch and bashful grinning squirm of Aunt Betsy with, “Now, Mr. Crawler, I almost hate you for poaching off with our poor Euphemia so; there, stop now; what do I mean, did you say? You had better now—”

So, taking his arm with one hand, and putting her other hand on his mouth, to keep him from speaking, she leads him to the innocent Euphemia, and says to him, “Oh, you artful man!” and vanishes.

The mother soon glides in with all possible grace and ease, asks Euphemia to bring her gold thimble from the work-stand up stairs, kind a pouts, and nervously exclaims, that she “did not think they would have served her so.”

“And she, too, the sly minx, so young! Who would have thought it? But never mind now; don’t say a word—mind, you must be right good, Mr. Crawler, and I’ll see—”

“Why, madam, I mean no—”

“There, stop—you intended to say, of course, that you meant nothing. Oh, you sly fox—

“Here, my darling daughter, give me the thimble;” and quizzically nodding and significantly shaking her finger, balloons herself from the dear couple with a playful “Now be good children,” and a kind of serious “Good-by; God bless you!”

There is no time or chance to explain or to disavow. Euphemia wipes her eyes—goes to the window. The least Mr. Crawler can do is to ask, softly and kindly, what disturbs her. Hopes he has not been the cause of her distress and embarrassment.

“Oh no.” She “has no one but him to confide with. Mother and aunt have found it all out. She denied it—said they were not engaged—that he had asked her no such question. But aunt said that was nonsense—that she pretended to be mighty ignorant, just as if it must be an indenture under seal.

“When,” she said, “she screamed out ‘Ma, what does aunt mean? She frightens me; am I ruined?’ And ma said, ‘No, my dear, you are not ruined. I am half angry with you, though. Of course he is a gentleman of too much honor to cross-examine you like a squire, but, like a true lover, he mentally offers his delicate proposals for mar-mar-marri-age.’

“And then ma said, ‘Euphemia, my love, you silently accepted his proposals by a blushing consent; and then,’ she said, “she burst into a flood of tears, and cried out, just as” she “now did, and told ma and aunt they had cheated and snared her, and drawn her into a trap, so they had—and she would tell Mr. Crawler, the first time he came, and get him to take her part, for they were all against her.”

Mr. Crawler then, of course, holds out his arms, into which the afflicted and broken-hearted dear child finds refuge from her angry mother.

They sob away their sorrow, in reciprocal sympathies, mesmeric ecstasies, impatient hopes, dreams of gilded bliss, speedy nuptials, and glowing raptures.

Then come the crowning joys, of nuptial banquets, costly outfits, splendid wardrobe, house, equipage, sumptuous entertainments, and the whirl of rapturous transports.

The moon of love is soon eclipsed by satiate time; the hour for thought steps in; the lawful, wedded wife is queen, and holds her sceptre with a sterner brow.

She has no paltry pelf; her aunt in parables had spoken, “rich as a Jewess;” Rachel, the Jewess, had no golden tankard, but held her crystal water in an earthen jar, a drink from which did charm for life her willing lord.

“No murmurs now, my love,” eries the sweet Euphemia to her beloved Crawler. “Hist, dear, lest generous friends and guests should hear and gossip of our discord.”

"You must obey, my love ; hush, be still ; it is ungenteel to seold. Are you a man ?—or why, so proud, embark upon the sea of life ?" Alas, content is banished !

The ruling propensity with young men and women is rather to avoid than eneourage the intimaey of their equals ; between whom deceptions cannot be practieed, nor light or familiar liberties be taken or allowed with impunity.

They ineline to intereourse with those whose edueation, habits, and condition are below them ; perhaps this proeceeds from the assurance and license taken by one, and the complacency allowed by the other. The vanity and private feelings of both are thus seeretly aeeommodated.

An uneducated and destitute young woman, of course, is pleased and excited by the attentions of a rich and educated young man of genteel assoeiations ; her utmost efforts are employed to charm and win his affections, in which she is sure to be joined by her family : he is admired and flattered, and all her faults are conealed ; his ardor and her simplicity soon lead to mutual excitements, in which he loses his reason, his judgment, and eaution, and seldom fails to make the blunder of soiling her character and his own, or getting coaxed or bullied into an unequal and ruinous marriage.

So, too, with young women. Between them and young men of equal rank, there is a slender chance for romanee or personal familiarities, however keen their secret propensities. They know each other too well, are more narrowly watched. They are afraid of, and respect each other. They have every apprehension of injured character to dread by aets of indiscretion. Seduitions but seldom oeeur with young persons in the same sphere of life. But when the sensual eye of a low-bred man falls upon a woman above him, and she listens to his artful flattery, and his cunning concessions of her superiority, her diseretion is beguiled by her thoughtless love of admiration.

If he sanctifies his devotion by proposals of marriage, the idol of a woman's soul, he will not fail to win her. Transpose the sexes and their eonditions, and the result is obvious.

By these impregnable and impelling cross and counter sensations, the sexes, at this ripe and impulsive season of life, are most mysteriously entrapped, and led away too often, whether married or not married, to their utter ruin.

This wholesome lesson of human precipitaney teaches how

essential to peace, security, and character it is to maintain a rigid control over the irritating excitement of impulse and passion, to avoid the influence of eccentricities, and that which we do not fully understand, and to be content with that which satisfies the judgment and is approved by the conscience.

All young persons are prone to make hasty and precipitate marriages, under the influence of passion and excitement, without consideration or reflection. They are giddy, eccentric, and childish, and impulsively rush into the most pernicious intimacies.

These are more frequently dropped with men after marriage than with women.

If such women do not marry, they are apt to lose sight of moral restraints, and, when married, they too often encumber their husbands with their former associates, who, if poor or lazy (accomplishments which generally go together), loaf and feed on them for life.

They never fail to fasten on them all their relations. These luxuries they must endure, however repugnant to their pockets and their peace; and millions of husbands have had their purses eased, and their habitations secretly subverted into feed-stalls for mendicants, or almshouses for sturdy paupers.

If they flunk or rebel against these sympathetic accommodations, wrangles, abuse, and persecutions follow; and separations more frequently come from these causes than is supposed.

These remarks are intended to apply exclusively to the motives and impulses referred to, and not to parties who are intelligent and respectable, and who are influenced by mutual feelings of respect and attachment, and who are governed both before and after marriage by prudence, caution, and discretion.

It is essential that certain fundamental facts and primary elements should be kept in view, in order to obviate the embarrassment into which we must inevitably fall by omitting to keep them at all times in their proper place, and thereby committing the error of putting woman in a false position, and expecting too much from her, and feeling impatient because she does not meet expectations which we have no right to raise.

For example, the order of primary events must be remembered, that at the beginning, and before man was made, "*a garden*," that is, the world, "*was made*;" and then it was suggested to the Divine conception that "*there was not a man to*

*till the ground.*" Man was then made after God's image, perhaps as to figure and form, and certainly, as this expression necessarily implies, with mind, intellect, and mental powers in some degree fashioned and modeled after the nature and character of the Creator; that, face to face, God conversed and communed with, and explained to him his power and authority, and brought all things to him to be examined and named.

These sublime preliminaries manifest the wonderful light and knowledge conferred on man at the beginning.

Still there was an additional thought which occurred to the Creator; there was "*not found an help meet for man.*" Woman was then made, and "*brought to the man,*" and they were told that "*she was his help meet,*" and that "*he should rule over her;*" and thus they were left together.

This plain simple narrative obviously shows that the faculties of woman were all designed to be secondary and subservient to man.

It does not appear that she was created with the mental capacities he had, or that she was instructed as he had been.

She was instantly ushered out of the secret chambers of Heaven, from unconscious creation, into the immediate presence of man.

The first sensations of her existence were excited into action by the sympathetic transports of their first mutual surprise and rapture.

She therefore had not been imbued with the inherent mental capacities, nor had she received from her Maker the knowledge which man had received.

This information was left for him to explain to her, and he was made responsible for the performance of this duty.

He was required to be kind and patient, and to forbear with her deficiencies of mind, and her ignorance of the vast and wonderful stores of knowledge which had been bestowed on him; carefully to explain them to her tender and infant understanding, and to remember that it did not appear that it was intended that she should know or appreciate them as he does.

Perhaps it is not going too far to say that the design of her creation did not involve the occasions for the high conceptions and vast responsibilities conferred on man.

He was placed over all things, including her.

He was required to rule and govern, she to obey; and this power to rule, by one, and duty for obedience by the other,

before the fall, was so intensly blended with their moral and physical identity, that his power, and her duty, were both absorbed in a rhapsody of pure and angelic ecstasy.

So that, after the awful wreck of their first and glorious raptures, nothing was left but a mournful conflict between the conscious impurity of barren power on one side and selfish rebellion on the other side. Their eyes were now opened to each other's depravities, and no fig-leaf could hide their degenerate propensities.

Nothing but perfect affinities and the most rigid self-circumspection could save them from perpetual wrangle and strife.

Their souls possessed no more heavenly concurrences; there were no absorbing attractions and inherent sympathies with the man, no more yielding confidence by the woman.

Both are now perpetually tortured with doubts, suspicions, jealousies, resentment, and selfishness.

They are thrown upon the weak, wicked, impure, and perverse resources of their degenerate, depraved, and wicked hearts.

But little of their primitive purity is left, and their nuptial felicities now depend, alas, too much upon the dread of public opinion, the urgencies of sensual impulse, and their sinister occasions for selfish accommodation.

The result of these just conceptions will warn man and woman both, that, however appropriate and beautiful the first dispensation was for their happiness, there came over the spirit of their glorious and heavenly dream an awful cloud, in which they were wakened up to horrors unutterable; and that a demon banished from their rapturous souls the heavenly joys of involuntary and harmonious love; that they are now doomed to the undying tortures of mutual distrust: that both are conscious that the golden sceptre of man's absorbing, entrancing power, and the silken cords of her rapturous obedience, are forever broken; and that, however the codes of reason and conscience may ordain the primitive rules of government, every man knows he can no longer enforce this power, and that woman feels that its exercise is as arbitrary as it is absurd.

For the breach of all contracts, except in the private reciprocations of marriage, there is a legal remedy; in this, there is no redress, but with the conscience.

They very well understand their respective duties; that there can be no harmony without the voluntary performance of these duties; that there is no power by either to enforce their per-

formance; and that the only remedy is a voluntary self-control, and self-surrender of their entire and several efforts for mutual kindness and harmony.

They hold each other by the throat, for life or death, without escape, and here their fearful destiny must rest.

Terrible must be the doom of the cowardly and fiendish husband or wife who plays the tyrant or the cheat.

The torments of undying remorse must ultimately be their just and certain doom.

The mental and moral feelings should correspond or be capable of assimilation.

Persons of different ages, nations, and prejudices, however distinct, may readily accommodate themselves to each other, if there is mutual affection.

Youth and ignorance will conform to maturity and education.

These are not radical obstacles in the way of conjugal harmony; and indeed there would seem to be very few to it, where there are sincere feelings of reciprocal regard.

Efforts for conformity on one side, and concession on the other, will most wonderfully blend the feelings, assimilate the dispositions, and harmonize the tempers.

These considerations, however, must be referred exclusively to the mental and moral condition of the parties; their individual and social feelings, which result from their domestic education, and which lie at the foundation of the pride and independence of men sometimes, and certainly with every woman of delicacy and spirit, render it essential, if they are persons of this description, for the security of their future peace and mutual happiness, that in these respects they should start even, or that they should not begin with an absolute state of dependence on either side. No gentleman, no well-bred, high-minded man, will feed and subsist in idleness and poverty upon the means of his wife; no one but a driveling poltroon would do this; and no lady of true spirit, no woman with genuine feelings of female dignity, will cast herself with pauperism upon her husband, on purpose to be maintained by him; none but the mean and sordid can do this.

If they are both poor, and agree to work, and start life together, they are then upon the same footing, and the dependence upon each other is equal and mutual, and there is no humiliat-

ing drawback—both in their respective spheres contributing to the common stock of conjugal accommodation.

However the heat of passion, and the ardor and inexperience of youth may at first produce a fusion of all other feelings; after this excitement has subsided, and the judgment is suffered to assume its dominion, both will discover that their individual wants are more urgent than their animal indulgences; that there is a wide range of sober, responsible, and laborious duties for each patiently and constantly to perform, to secure their mutual happiness.

When this crisis comes, if they are in heart refined and honorable, unless they can both see and feel that they are respectively and equally performing these duties, the roots of dissatisfaction will shoot out into the secret recesses of the heart. This crushing consciousness of dependence on, and injustice to, a husband or a wife will be exclusively personal. It cannot be disclosed to, nor is it susceptible of sympathy from the other. And just so far as it can be seen and felt that by labor, care, and service there is contribution made to the common stock, can there be consistent and free indulgence in any extra personal gratification; one dollar beyond this mark will be regarded as an exaction, at which there will be a sense of secret mortification, if not shame, by the user.

Hence it is that poor women, of intellect and high sentiments of honor, who marry men of fortune, or whose professional or other employments enable them to live in affluence, lead lives of scrupulous industry and rigid economy; in no instance touching a luxury for their personal convenience, unless from the generous contributions of their husbands. These instances of discreet and consistent self-denial are sometimes attributed to a preference for retirement. Woman is naturally gay, and delights in the charms of refined and cheerful society. The explanation of these numerous instances of solitude, secret toil, and nervous dependence is found in the fiscal inequalities referred to.

The same law applies with equal force to the husband. If he has the dignity of a man, he will counterbalance the domestic advantages of his wife's revenues over the deficiencies of his exchequer, by vigilant emulation in some honorable occupation. And if either disregards this obvious rule of reason and delicacy, they have no right to expect the free and hearty reciprocations of a full and generous heart. There will be secret withholdings of respect and affection on one side, and a consciousness

of imposition on the other side; and it is as unnatural as it is unreasonable to suffer unfairness, or require inequalities with impunity, even between husband and wife. They have their separate and individual notions of personal justice, as much as if they were single; and there is no reason why they should not have them as strongly after, as before marriage.

Neither has a right to expect the other to surrender their separate personal rights. They are married, not to merge the rights of one with those of the other: the law that the legal existence of the wife is merged in her husband is intended for her advantage and protection; but marriage is designed for the mutual contributions of their sexual attributes, to maintain and increase the inviolable security and strength of both; not that the wife shall lose a jot of her feminine character, but that it is to be honorably ratified, and publicly sustained by the manly firmness of her husband; in which he obtains an elevated rank, as the joint representative of conservative and moral responsibility.

So that the joint and separate dignity and beauty of their characters essentially depend upon a reciprocal spirit of concension and contribution to the elements of their several claims to individual merit and distinction. Both should therefore be on timely guard, to shun this rock of ruin to their future peace; and, in the midst of their young and ardent love, remember that anon they too will be painstaking, domestic drudges of home and children, as are their parents, and the other care-worn and anxious married folks they see around them.

Let them be careful to avoid these premature and blind excitements, and before their impulses are too strong, for then it may be too late; carefully and calmly consider that which, if now neglected, must be solemnly, and perhaps fatally, reflected upon hereafter.

Let them ponder upon this awful step taken for time, perhaps for eternity; privately consult some honorable, pure, and aged friend, whose calm, intelligent, and careful experience will enable him to penetrate not only the secret character, but the worldly condition of the person in view; and unless these cardinal considerations are found with a true and safe state of equality of condition and circumstances, modestly avoid, and honorably decline the proposal, however flattering and alluring it may be.

Wait for an offer that shall secure the moral advantages of a

good heart, with the opportunity to begin and pass down the stream of life, on equal terms of proud and independent partnership, and even destiny; and when the hot sun and the dark night of old-fashioned matrimony are spread upon their path, if fruits and flowers fall plenteously around, both will feel that for them both these blessings have generously come: no timid caution then will cheek the heart; but free and mutual joys will glow in bright and lasting sunshine.

Whatever good or ill comes, it is the weal and woe, the mirth and gladness of their common lot; but start not uneven, and unfairly yoked; let not one have all the stock and power for necessary thrift and feed. Trust not the weak and sinister heart of man or woman to light the unequal burthen with sweet and constant love; rather fear its selfish look or word, to chill the soul with slur or twit of bounty. Set forth with empty hands, and go together equal, free, and poor, for mutual chancery and gains; or stay alone in peace and single harmless honor, rather than mar another's joy, or blur thy destiny with fashionable pauperism and sordid ease.

There is nothing special or peculiar in these views as to marriage.

They have their origin, and spring from an element that is blended with the relative character of every created thing, and eminently display the wonderful and various attributes of the Deity.

The judgment and sense of self-respect may both lie dormant, until maturity and experience have called them into action, or while they are, with all the other mental and animal faculties, under the dominion of sexual excitement, and thus leave us to pursue hoodwinked the involuntary irritations of our animal propensities; but when the keen edge of appetite is blunted, and reason assumes its sway, however strong has been the delusion, the mind wakens up to reflection and truth; the rational and necessary laws by which the moral rank and social relations of society are governed soon address themselves to the understanding, the reckless disregard of which is now followed by a keen and sensitive desire to take an honorable position in life, and a repugnance to that which hangs about us tending to prevent our wishes.

Thousands of both sexes at the age of two or three and twenty, or after the dream of passion is over, and the urgent and pressing occasions for the countenance of society are felt and appre-

ciated, have looked about them with amazement and remorse; the most involuntary reactions upon the heart are then produced.

The calm and consistent aspirations of every one anxiously aim at the attainment of an honorable and appropriate estimation by society, however poor and humble; and to be deprived of this secret consolation by our own follies is a source of constant and crushing affliction.

Too much care and caution, therefore, cannot be employed to avert these contingent calamities.

The incitements of passion and the impetuosity of youth disdain all criterions of condition and character, except those which please the eye and warm up the passions; when these transient exuberances are sated, it is discovered, perhaps too late, that there are moral or conventional incidents blended with this new made congress of destinies upon which the world looks with aversion, and for which we now have a repugnance that cannot be overcome.

In this connection, there is a startling calamity recorded of the total destruction of the domestic peace of a gentleman of pure lineage, who was inveigled into a marriage at an early age by female management.

The parents of the wife had come from a distance; their appearance was favorable; but nothing was known of their connections or lineage.

The husband soon discovered that his wife's family had but small pretensions to respectability.

In about three years after his marriage, one of his wife's cousins, a young man, was convicted of a capital crime, and sentenced to be hanged.

The husband shook himself loose from this his degraded connection, but the wife held him for her support, which was the primary motive of her lawful wedded vow.

If the disparity is in years, fortune, position, mind, or education, the effect is the same. There can be no natural affinity between youth and age. There may be affection and solicitude by one, and respect and reverence by the other, but there is no impelling or exciting attraction, no glowing love or mental cohesion, because this is unnatural.

There may be with the rich towards the poor charity and compassion, and by the poor for the rich, thankfulness and gratitude; but there is no instinctive, mutual sympathy, no sincere or reciprocal kindness and cordiality.

The feeling is thoughtful and selfish with the first, and with the latter it is doubt and uncertainty. With those who have the advantage of mind, education, and position, the feeling towards those beneath them is of superiority and not equality, the compromise of which with the inferior is secretly felt to be condescension, and against which there is a hidden and involuntary emotion of jealousy, envy, and aversion.

In all these opposite relations, whether mental, moral, conventional, or pecuniary, the innate sensation, the secret impulse of the heart, with all men, however refined by education, or purified by religion, is not for affinity but disaffinity, not attraction but distraction, not for union but for disunion, not for concord but for discord, not to come to and remain together, but to keep asunder and fall from each other.

This great law of inherent unecongeniality, instinctive repulsion, and selfish individuality, is palpable, universal, and undeniable.

It is demonstrated by all the works of creation, from the first cause of all things down to the humblest objects of existence: the towering oak and the stunted bush, the eagle and the sparrow, the wolf and the lamb, the prince and the beggar, the judge and the culprit, the master and the slave; between knowledge and ignorance, strength and weakness, the godlike infinity of intellect, and the crushing infirmity of the fool.

The legal philosophy of marriage is very well expressed by Judge Lewis, in *10 Penn. State Reports*, page 353. He says as follows: "Marriage is a wise regulation, in harmony with nature and religion, and is the only efficient preventive of licentiousness; the happiness of the parties and the interests of society require that it should be free from either coercion or restraint.

"Marriage is the appropriate regulation of that great instinct of nature which was designed by the Creator to replenish the earth.

"It is upon this authorized union that all civilized nations depend for their prosperity in peace and their defence in war.

"The principle of reproduction stands next in importance to its elder correlative self-preservation, and is equally a fundamental law of existence.

"It is the blessing which tempered with mercy the justice of expulsion from Paradise.

"It was impressed upon the human creation by a beneficent

Providence to multiply the images of himself, and thus to promote his own glory and the happiness of his creatures.

“Not man alone, but the whole animal and vegetable kingdom are under an imperious necessity to obey its mandates.

“From the lord of the forest to the monster of the deep; from the subtilty of the serpent to the innocence of the dove; from the celestial embracc of the mountain kalmia to the descending fructifications of the lily of the plain; all nature bows submissively to this primeval law.

“Even the flowers which perfume the air with their fragrance, and decorate the forest and field with their hues, are but ‘curtains to the nuptial bed.’

“The principles of morality, the policy of nations, the doctrines of the common law, the law of nature, and the law of God, unite in condemning as void all obstructions to its free consummation.”

## CHAPTER VIII.

### AFTER MARRIAGE.

He who fails in one thing fails in all—Magnitude and insignificance of the act do not change this rule—All sin alike, except as to example—Contract of marriage—No law of GOD or man can keep it inviolate if there is dislike—Its security depends on the homogeneal character of the sexes—Pride, and fear of public opinion sometimes keep them together—if woman superior to man, his self-pride is affected—Not so *vice versa*—Don't know each other till after married—They should mutually forbear—Respect—And not contradict—Great change—Hard work—Plain domestic life, care, &c.—Should be no exercise of authority, but mutual concession—If disaffinities are irreconcilable, should part—For either to hold the other by force is brutal—No advantage should be allowed by either—Infidelity in love.

HE who faileth in one commandment, it is said, is as guilty as he who violates the whole law.

However this rule may not comport with man's tariff of retributions, it is clear that the moral or the pecuniary insignificance or magnitude of contracts does not increase or diminish the strength of the reason for or against their violations.

Strong inducements are offered, and severe punishments imposed for the inviolability of important duties, such as capital punishment for certain crimes, and the incorporation of the act of marriage with the ordinances of the church.

But it is difficult to define how one breach of faith is more inexcusable than another, except by its example and consequences.

A man in his own heart, at the bar of his own conscience, if he has one, can find no better excuse for the wanton and deliberate failure to pay a debt of one dollar than one thousand dollars—to forge a check for ten dollars than ten thousand dollars—to desert his master before his apprenticeship is up, or his child while helpless, than to break the contract and condition for allegiance with which he took life, or to repudiate marriage.

So far as the heart of the delinquent is concerned, all sin is the same; married persons are on the same footing with their nuptial contract as they are with any other contract, and in no respect are they differently placed.

There is no religious sanction, no terror from public opinion or legal punishment that has any real secret influence; if they are dissatisfied, they may be influenced by pride, cupidity, or cowardice; their vanity, self-interest, and fear may induce them to bend their necks; but if, in their hearts, there is secret dislike, they will detest the yoke.

Perhaps there are instances in which concurring wants and mutual apathies allow neutrality of sentiment between them. In all such cases, if temper is controlled and true interest is consulted, harmony must follow.

This must be seldom; for rational beings are governed, in some measure, by sentiment, not wholly by instinct; so that it is a question of will, not duty—of fact, not right.

They do, or they do not love; they do, or they do not hate each other; or one loves, and the other hates.

Mere indifference is so rare as to almost make it an exception to the rule, that in marriage there is love or hatred; that is, that there is no medium between these two extremes; the tie is too close, the conjunctions of mental and physical affinities too exact and distinct to rest in harmony without concurring sensibilities, and against discordant preferences, however unintelligible or inexplicable this fact may be.

There is, therefore, no sense of duty, or dread of punishment, that can create love or mutual assimilation; these are impulses of the heart, governed exclusively by the natural taste or the choice; and in this we are not answerable; for they are involuntary, however capricious they may appear to others.

So that, if it was not for the mysterious homogeneal character of the sexes, there would be but limited marital faith; and to this axiom, in physical and mental physiology, must be assigned the marvelous simulations of married life; for religion, law, and duty give them no secret help, when there is a settled dislike or natural aversion from any cause.

Pride, and the fear of public opinion, keep thousands together. The repugnance, whether mutual, or with one, is soon discovered; they cannot disguise aversion: if it is with both, self-interest avoids and prevents violence from either; if it is by the wife, and the husband loves her, his agony is unuttera-

ble; and it is almost a certain prefix to despair. If it be he, and she loves him, her soul withers speedily away; but if she loves him not, and is artful, he will writhe under the most unsparing and remorseless persecution.

It requires a large stock of courage to induce separation; the parties will submit to severe discomforts rather than brook the horrors of an open rupture.

It is a perplexing question, which suffers most; whether they discover that their marriage has been had in treachery, for lust or gain, or their nuptial intimacy discloses latent and concealed delinquencies, the result to both is terrible. Aversion must follow; delicacy may revolt at literal explanations; coolness is rebuked and charged with fraud or infidelity, followed up by secret persecutions and threats of prosecutions by the law.

Few men have sufficient courage to brave the sneers of an unjust and ungenerous world, who take much delight to themselves in a gossip gratis for injured wives and faithless husbands.

To the wife the calamity is not so severe; she is spared the severities of popular odium, which always falls upon the husband's head, even though she is wholly in the wrong.

When, from any cause, these lamentable disasters occur, the parties owe to each other a solemn duty for quiet and absolute divorce.

The refusal by either of this obvious act of natural justice is malignant treachery.

By this means they may have a chance for future usefulness; time and new relations in life, as if one had died, wear away past recollections; but, without release, their days must pass in secret sorrow and public disgrace.

If there is reciprocal confidence with man and wife in each other's constancy, still there may not be a mutual reliance in their respective discretion and judgment as to other matters, although there is mutual love.

The old and the young, the ignorant and the wise, the strong and the weak intellect, may hold most warm, ardent, and mutual attachments; but these mental differences necessarily place one above the other.

If the superiority is with the woman, the inherent desire with man for "rule" is nettled, even if the sound good sense of the wife most carefully eschews every possible occasion of excitement.

'There is no power can overcome this natural element of his nature ; his self-pride is mortified, and he unconsciously and involuntarily becomes unhappy ; however warned and caressed by her kindness and love, and however high the power she holds over his heart, it will not triumph against this natural instinct of his nature.

She had at the beginning greater influence with him than the king of all art, who did not dare to tempt man ; while she did eat the fruit ; and although man was then perfect, she beguiled him to violate the only limitation put upon his will.

A woman, therefore, always suffers in this respect, under the most favorable circumstances, by a marriage with a man beneath her ; besides the risk of his fret, from envy, bad breeding, or vulgar origin, being turned to rude and brutal hate.

If the superiority is with the husband, and there is warm reciprocal love, her willing submission to his "rule over her" creates the highest imaginable complacency with her.

Sweet and holy woman sometimes mars this brilliant picture ; when she is selfish, sinister, and proud, she, too, ensnares for speculation, not love, not faith, but revolt.

Before marriage the parties have slender opportunities to discover each other's faults.

Courtship is often commenced without much previous acquaintance ; delicacy, it is supposed, forbids familiar personal inquiries and explanations, and both maintain the best appearances ; inquiries usual upon subjects of business are held as violations of good taste ; the parties, without much information or suitable reflection, mutually rely upon each other's truth, hope for the best, and for better and for worse precipitate themselves into marriage.

Afterwards the sober judgment is wakened up.

Now comes the test of affection : if the attachment is sincere and mutual, discrepancies of age, health, nation, morals, or complexion will not break the charm.

If one only has this unction, by soft forbearance and tenderness, the other must yield, unless there is some great repugnance.

If there be no love with either, and their hearts are not astray, the concurring reciprocalities of their common wants and impulses in almost every instance will make them mutually useful, and perhaps contented. Great allowances should be cheerfully conceded by both.

There should now be an absolute and mutual surrender to the dictates of duty, and a resolute renunciation by both of all sinister, selfish, or sordid thoughts.

When courtship begins, there is an implied understanding that the parties will be governed in their intercourse by the laws of good breeding; and if either should detect in the other a moral or physical defect too delicate to name, this would authorize either party to withdraw without explanation; the same rule should apply after marriage.

A disagreeable, repugnant, or revolting explanation should not be asked for before marriage, or looked for or accepted after marriage.

There is an immense range of thoughts and impulses between them, which cannot properly and without serious embarrassments be made the subject of free and familiar conversation; in all which implicit dependence for sincerity (however inexplicable the unexplained thing may be) must be mutually accorded.

If this were not so, the chaste and beautiful relation of love would be degraded by gross impurities.

Nothing would be left for the bright conceptions of virtuous and honorable thought.

These chaste and harmless secrets belong perhaps exclusively to the timid lover.

Nor should either insist upon urging themselves or their tender attachments on the other, when an aversion is discovered before or after marriage.

If the conduct of the retiring party is respectful, the inference is that there is some good cause; and the other is bound upon every principle of reciprocity so to presume.

In the common intercourse of life, no one with true spirit will obtrude himself upon a mere friend against his will; and to expect a reason for a refusal to a proposed intimacy is impertinent and rude.

Acquaintance should not be desired, except for some good qualities, which we thus concede, and are therefore bound to believe there is good reason for the waiver, and to respect the motives of the person declining our acquaintance.

There may be some objection to us on account of character, behavior, or person, which we do not see, and may be repugnant to others; and to tell us of which would be in bad taste.

This obvious rule of justice and propriety applies with much greater force after than before marriage.

Married persons have no right to doubt or question the purity of each other's intentions.

It is rash and unkind for parents and children, brothers and sisters, friends, partners, or those under any ties of relationship or of reciprocal intimacies to impugn each other's motives.

And the instant that this feeling is indulged in by acts of suspicion and language of reproach, the insult is too keen to be endured ; it soon banishes regard, and plants in its place bitterness and dislike.

With husband and wife it for ever closes the door against reconciliation.

The parties, now having their eyes open, should be frank to themselves and to each other. They should wholly avoid and disregard what others say or think. It is their own exclusive private affair, in which parents and others have no right to interfere.

If there is only an involuntary aversion, without any definite dislike ; an insubordination of temper or impatience—these should be overlooked, and mutually subdued and suppressed ; they will pass off ; the condition is new, perhaps perplexing alike to both.

Instances often occur of separations and divorces, under these excitements, by parties who afterwards unite and re-marry. Time and patience may show that they are essential to each other's happiness.

The wife may have unexpected and arduous cares, apprehensions, and duties, which she should be permitted to try fairly, and the husband should accommodate her.

The husband may labor under the same embarrassments ; they should make mutual allowances, and be affectionate, kind, and forbearing, and, with all frankness and childlike simplicity, encourage an unlimited confidence in, and respect for each other.

A large amount of the affairs of domestic life are plain, homespun matters of hard work. It is a great and severe change for both. They are now not to live on love, but on a joint stock co-partnership of labor and self-denial ; what they forego for this union of their fortunes, they may gain tenfold for, in the felicities of home and happiness.

There should be no attempts at ascendancy or control, no

pretensions of superiority or affectations of authority; all such impulses should be promptly and secretly suppressed. On the contrary, a genuine spirit of kindness and concession should be resolutely adhered to and cherished; wishes, requests, and opinions should be complied with and concurred in; complaints sympathized with, and expectations fulfilled. When the wife asks for a new bonnet, she should have it at once, be praised for her economy in waiting so long for it, and admired when it is got, for her excellent choice; or the husband may be reminded of the annoyance he gives her, when without notice he brings home two or three strangers to dinner.

The wife should never permit a half-cooked or spoiled dish to come to her table, nor oblige her husband to wait too long for, or go without his meals, or any other personal accommodation.

Whether he be a peasant or a peer, it is her duty to attend to all these things personally, if she has her health, just as much as it his duty, without grudging, to supply her with a full larder. She should not excuse or screen her servants or her children; it is his right to judge of the most minute matters of his family, and it is wrong to deny him this privilege; and she should disdain to cow him by imputations of coddling. There should be no disguise, distrust, or suspicion, but they should open with unreserved confidence the entire secrets, emotions, and impulses of their inmost hearts and souls to each other; nothing should be kept back, and reserved for themselves, or any one else; they have no right to accept or keep the secret of another. And nothing but green-eyed jealousy, and horrid, dark, and damning suspicions ever came from the slightest departure from this essential law of conjugal faith.

There are very many embarrassments coming in suddenly after marriage; they require time and reflection to reconcile the temper and pride to the sober realities of home.

Time, self-control, and an honest and sincere spirit of kindness and accommodation, will subdue uneasiness, overcome doubts, calm apprehensions, and soothe and charm the most intractable tempers.

In this way, discrepancies in manners, habits, education, and age are supervened; use soon becomes second nature; and where there is no previous or lurking predilections for others, and the heart is free, sincere, and open, they will soon find delight in

each other's society, and really experience the belief that they are essential to each other's existence.

This is no vision, no sketch of the imagination. Millions enjoy this rich and heavenly rapture, and nature seems to have ordained and contrived these springs of mutual comfort and joy with such mysterious refinement, that no alloy, no compromise, nothing sinister can be blended or fused into its celestial purity.

If, however, after a fair trial, there are found to be an insurmountable restlessness and an inveterate disrelish, by one or both, even though they are utterly unable to account for, or explain it, the fruitless effort for cohabitation should be abandoned. They are not bound to force and torture themselves against involuntary repugnances, however capricious. They may be the victims of intolerably dark and hidden uneconomicalities; there is no vassalage so rude and brutal.

The serf is fed and sheltered by his lord; but the betrayed and deserted husband is doomed by his unrelenting wife to toil for life in mournful solitude, amidst the accumulated refinements of mental and physical oppression; worse than negro bondage, for the African slave, by moral sanction, may openly have his lawful wife, and hold an honorable home; but the cast-off and fettered husband has no domestic hearth stone or cover, no tolerated social sanctuary but his own soul.

*“Disappointment in Marriage.*—Listen, I pray you, to the stories of the disappointed in marriage: collect all their complaints: hear their mutual reproaches: upon what fatal hinge do the greatest part of them turn? ‘They were mistaken in the person.’ Some disguise either of body or mind is seen through in the first domestic scuffle: some fair ornament, perhaps the very one which won the heart, *the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit*, falls off. *It is not the Rachel for whom I have served—Why hast thou then beguiled me?*

“Be open, be honest: give yourself for what you are; conceal nothing, varnish nothing; and if these fair weapons will not do, better not conquer at all than conquer for a day: when the night is passed, ‘twill ever be the same story—*And it came to pass, behold it was Leah!*

“If the heart beguiles itself in its choice, and imagination will give excellencies which are not the portion of flesh and blood: when the dream is over, and we awake in the morning, it matters little whether ‘tis Rachel or Leah—be the object what it will, as it must be on the earthly side, at least, of per-

fection—it will fall short of the work of fancy, whose existence is in the clouds.

“In such cases of deception, let not man exclaim, as Jacob does in his—*What is it thou hast done unto me?*—for ‘tis his own doings, and he has nothing to lay his fault on but the heat and poetic indiscretion of his own passions.”—STERNE’S *Sermons*, vol. iv. p. 11.

Singular instances of secret mental and physical inconsistencies often occur, as persons, who cannot abide each other’s society, are both acceptable and preferable to others; and husband and wife, mutually affectionate and fond, who have no children together, but by former and after nuptials are parents; in both of these cases, their remaining together should be optional.

If the familiar connections of marriage unfold repulsive, moral, or personal obliquities, it is wholly immaterial whether they have or have not been known; this creates a flat bar to future cohabitation.

A compromise for money or support, or from a ridiculous regard to what is called public opinion, where there are just and natural causes of mental, moral, or physical repugnance, sterility, chronic maladies, or distinct deformity of person, mind, or morals, is absurd, disgusting, and unnatural.

All these are painful and mournful afflictions, for which the parties will find no sympathy, but much contempt and derision by their exposure.

It is a sharp corner on the road of life to turn, and here they should solemnly pause, and deal frankly with each other.

If one has been guilty of open fraud, the aggressor should be spurned and forever left without a word.

If both have been thus guilty, what is left but to separate in silence?

Under all circumstances of disagreement, they are bound by every tie of honor not to persecute each other, but to loose the cord for life; not to reproach, abuse, and prize of lawful wedded rights, and claim rewards and ransom to go off, which is of the spirit of the pirate and brigand.

To scourge, defy, and persecute for pelf and bread, harass by threats of law for forced decrees in alimony, is brutal violence.

None but a lazy dog would eat for life another’s hard-earned

bread ; it is a mean and dirty theft, for which a man should be consumed by public scorn.

In woman, chaste, proud, pure woman, it is revolting to subvert all pride and wedded honor to vile and sordid sloth.

Repulsive and unfit on trial fair, perhaps she is found, in soul and body, for partnership, and still demands the bond and monthly pound of flesh.

The beasts of the earth love their caves and covers, and quit them but for cause. All decent men and women lean on home, and leave it not for naught.

This short, uncertain life is dark and cheerless, unlighted by a nuptial sky.

A malicious veto to the great purposes and claims of marriage, with wanton refusal for release, is black and remorseless cruelty.

It is a wrong to which words can add no tinge or hue ; murder is deliverance and mercy ; captivity is regal glory ; for slaves may taste the golden cup of pure connubial joy.

They hold each other to a dreadful or a glorious doom ; it is the sweet and rapturous liberty of *natural, lawful*, wedded love ; the cold, congealed, and rocky ice of frozen celibacy ; or the lewd and promiscuous indulgence of sensual proscription.

No conquering warrior, no pagan slaver, no beastly herdsman, has ever put this interdict, this unnatural doom, on man or brute ; but they who, for better and for worse, gulp perjury for gluttony and gold.

It is said there is an unpardonable sin, an offence against God and man, for which no human law was ever made, no human arm can reach.

Name it ! Was it ever named ? Can it be named ? Is there a sound for tongue or ear that can define, express, or nominate its loathsome character ?

Name it in whisper, or write it down, and he who essays to give it audible articulation will strangle in hydrophobic convulsions. Such a husband, such a wife, personify this spasmodic and unutterable substantive.

#### INFIDELITY IN LOVE.—BY E. L. BULWER.

To the vulgar there is but one infidelity—that which, in woman, at least, can never be expiated or forgiven. They know not the thousand shades in which change disguises itself ; they trace not the fearful progress of the alienation of the heart.

But to those who truly and deeply love, there is an infidelity with which the person has no share. Like ingratitude, it is punished by no laws. We are powerless to avenge ourselves.

When two persons are united by affection, and the love of one survives that of the other, who can measure the anguish of the unfortunate who watches the extinction of a light which nothing can re-illumine ! It mostly happens, too, that the first discovery is sudden. There is a deep trustfulness in a loving heart ; it is blind to the gradual decrease of sympathy—its divine charity attributes the absent eye, the chilling word, to a thousand causes save the true one ; care—illness—some worldly trouble—some engrossing thought, and (poor fool that it is !) endeavors by additional tenderness to compensate for the pain that is not of its own causing. Alas ! the time has come when it can no longer compensate. It hath ceased to be the all-in-all to its cruel partner. Custom has brought its invariable curse, and indifference gathers round the place in which we had garnered up our soul. At length the appalling light breaks upon us—we discover we are no longer loved. And what remedy have we ? None ! Our first, our natural feeling is resentment. We are conscious of treachery ; this ungrateful heart that has fallen from us, how have we prized and treasured it—how have we sought to shield it from every arrow—how have we pleased ourselves, in solitude and in absence, with yearning thoughts of its faith and beauty ; now it is ours no more ! Then we break into wild reproaches—we become exaeting—we watch every look—we gauge every action—we are unfortunate—we weary—we offend. These our agonies—our impetuous bursts of passion—our ironical and bitter taunts, to which we half expect, as heretofore, to hear the soft word that turneth away wrath : these only expedite the fatal hour ; they are new erimes in us ; the very proofs of our bitter love are treasured and repeated as reasons why we should be loved no more ; as if without a throw, without a murmur, we could resign ourselves to so great a loss. Alas ! it is with fierce convulsions that the temple is rent in twain, and we hear the divinity depart. Sometimes we stand in silence, and with a full heart, gazing upon those hard cold eyes which never again can melt in tenderness upon us. And our silence is dumb—its eloquence is gone. We are no longer understood. We long to die in order to be avenged. We half pray for some great misfortune, some agonizing illness, that it may bring to us our soother and our

nurse. We say, "in affliction or in sickness, it could not thus desert us." We are mistaken. We are shelterless—the roof has been taken from our heads—we are exposed to any and every storm. Then comes a sharp and dread sentiment of loneliness and insecurity. We are left—weak children—in the dark. We are bereft more irrevocably than by death; for will even the Hereafter that unites the happy dead that die lovingly, restore the love that has perished, ere life be dim?

What shall we do? We have accustomed ourselves to love and to be loved. Can we turn to new ties, and seek in another that which is extinct in one? How often is such a resource in vain? Have we not given to this, the treacherous and the false friend—the best years of our life—the youth of our hearts—the flower of our affections? Did we not yield up the harvest? how little is there left for another to glean! This makes the crime of the moral infidelity. The one who takes away from us his or her love, takes from us also the love of all else. We have no longer, perhaps, the youth and the attractions to engage affection. Once we might have chosen out of the world; now the time is past. Who shall love us in our scar and yellow leaf, as in that time when we had most the qualities that win love? It was a beautiful sentiment of one whom her lord proposed to put away: "Give me then back," said she, "that which I brought to you." And the man answered, in his vulgar coarseness of soul, "Your fortune shall return to you." "I thought not of fortune," said the lady; "give me back my real wealth—give me back my beauty and my youth—give me back the virginity of soul—give me back the cheerful mind, and the heart that had never been disappointed."

Yes, it is of these that the unfaithful rob us when they dismiss us back upon the world, and tell us, with a bitter mockery, to form new ties. In proportion to the time that we have been faithful—in proportion to the feelings we have sacrificed—in proportion to the wealth of soul, of affection, of devotion, that we have consumed, are we shut out from the possibility of atonement elsewhere. But this is not all: the other occupations of the world are suddenly made stale and barren to us; the daily avocations of life, the common pleasures, the social diversions, so tame in themselves, had their charm when we could share, and talk over them with another. It was sympathy which made them sweet; the sympathy withdrawn, they

are nothing to us, worse than nothing. The talk has become the tinkling cymbal, and society the gallery of pictures. Ambition, toil, the great aims of life, even these cease abruptly to excite. What, in the first place, made labor grateful and ambition dear? Was it not the hope that their rewards would be reflected upon another self? And now there is no other self. And, in the second place (and this is a newer consideration), does it not require a certain calmness and freedom of mind for great efforts? Persuaded of the possession of what most we value, we can look abroad with cheerfulness and hope; the consciousness of a treasure inexhaustible by external failures makes us speculative and bold. Now, all things are colored by our despondency; our self-esteem, that necessary incentive to glory, is humbled and abased. Our pride has received a jarring and bitter shock. We no longer feel that we are equal to stern exertion. We wonder at what we have dared before. And therefore it is that, when Othello believes himself betrayed, the occupations of his whole life suddenly become burdensome and abhorred.

“ Farewell,” he saith,  
“ Farewell the tranquil mind—farewell content.”

And then, as the necessary but unconscious link in the chain of thought, he continues at once:—

“ Farewell the plumed troops, and the big wars  
That make ambition virtue—oh, farewell!  
Farewell the neighing steed—and the shrill trump:  
The spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife,  
The royal banner, and all quality,  
Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war—  
Farewell!—Othello’s occupation’s gone.”

But there is another and more permanent result from this bitter treason. Our trustfulness in human nature is diminished. We are no longer the credulous enthusiasts of good. The pillars of the moral world seem shaken. We believe, we hope, no more from the faith of others.

## CHAPTER IX.

### SEPARATION.

Marriage defined—Urged to it by passion for reproduction of species—Parents—Children—Of the married in London—Discontented married not peculiar to large cities—Paris as to this—Causes of illicit connections—Divorce for all good causes—For disagreement, and personal dislike—No force—Issue—Definitions of wife and husband—Marriage not a religious ordinance—The Athenian law as to marriage—Disaffinities may be affinities on a change—All prefer marriage—Relief in law for every dilemma but marriage—Public opinion—Arabs—Indians—Ishmael and Isaac—Widows—Washington—Napoleon—Present system. \*

MARRIAGE is defined to be “*a compact between man and woman, for the procreation and education of children.*”

“*Society has ordained that it shall continue for life; and the reason is, because, children gradually succeeding one another, the parents have hardly done with the care of their education, before they are themselves unfit for a second marriage.*” The ancients awarded bounties to parents, and deprived bachelors of the rights of inheritance.

The same author says, “*With us, the laws hold out no temptations to marriage; and prudence will in general recommend celibacy.*”—(2 Bac. Ab. 524.)

This theory is sustained by all writers; and appears to be the philosophy of marriage.

The primary temporal purpose of man’s creation, therefore, was for the reproduction of his species.

To this great end the woman is most distinctly and intimately dedicated. The impetuous passions of our common nature incite reciprocal irritations, by which the sexes are precipitated together.

The secret design of nature in this is procreation; and to secure this result with the best advantage, and with no expense to society, it has ordained marriage; so that the parties, and not society, shall be responsible for the bringing forth and bringing up of children. The great object of propagation is, in this way,

accomplished by individual enterprise, without any trouble or expense to society.

This is not a very encouraging revelation to make to a young man, just starting upon his arduous destiny; nor a very flattering compliment to an old man, after he is worn out in the bringing forth and bringing up slavery.

But it seems to be literally true; and it is not wonderful that an old man, broken down with servitude, in the anxious drudgery of nature and society, should have murmured out to his fellow-men this prudent admonition for celibaey.

We are urged by passion to marriage; and instinctively struggle through the anxious task with superhuman endurance and suffering.

We are held, by the crafty purposes of nature, in blind and thrilling raptures of animal excitement, until its object is accomplished, and then it condemns us to the apathy of old age.

In this heyday of impetuous passion, there is less sentimental purity than vanity and pride.

The same trick and guile, by which nature makes the wolf bring forth, defend, and protect her cubs, prompt man and woman to feed and cherish their offspring.

All these affections are artfully contrived, for the purposes of successful propagation. They are elements of philosophy, not of morals. Parents have much less control over their children than is supposed; and too much is expected from what is called a good bringing up.

If the blood and breed are perverse and bad, there will be more apparent than real efforts made for restraint.

Men and women, who feel it a matter of policy to support respectable exteriors, go to church, and send their children to school; instil into their minds no sentiments of virtue, if they have none themselves; and hence their children come to nothing, and are censured for neglecting opportunities they never had, or could appreciate.

These, and similar examples, infect well-inclined children, who are a constant source of anxiety at home.

Many honorable and devoted fathers are baffled by the refractory dispositions of their children, who insult them by referring to out-door examples as authority for disobedience and insubordination.

And they are too often frustrated, by the never-failing propensity of a weak and infatuated mother to excuse and justify

their faults, and who never joins in their constraint and punishment.

How surprisingly this propensity in woman develops the mysterious design of her succeedaneous creation! How many old and worn-down fathers have slaved and dragged their lives away, in toil and self-denial, to give their sons and daughters smart and encouraging portions, in land and stock, wherewith to start the world; and fastened, safe and sound for life, sure maintenance for their helpless wives and offspring; and afterwards ruined themselves by being surety for their children; or have sent help and succor for them to a distant land; and watched and doted on them to the last, as first they loved and fondled over them in helpless infancy!

How many parents, meek, devoted, patient, and self-resigned, have thus by nature's instincts lived, and final respite had from all their toils and pains by death in dismal pauperism, unheeded and forgotten!

What son or daughter ever made a joyful sacrifice for those that gave them life? or died in infamy, within a living parent's reach?

This is the high and mighty course of nature—the arbitrary law for constant fecundation.

The last-begotten blindly blunders on his doom, and flings behind him far away, by instinct, not from choice, parental love, which stands aghast.

Until the sear and yellow leaf of time has fallen upon their narrow path, they do not learn that nature has ordained their children for *their* destiny; and that the infinite emergencies of its execution leave no room for those behind.

Alas for the faithful father and mother, whose lives have been, with singleness of love, piously and devoutly devoted to the protection and companionship of their beloved babes! They will find them, as maturity dawns, reserved, unkind, truant, rebellious, and, at last, scattered and gone, without regret, gratitude, or remembrance.

Oh! it is then a lonely time of night—very dark, and bitter cold! Still, it is nature's sentence; if cruel, there is mercy in the judgment; for life is now wasted, and sorrow hushes down the bursting heart, and gently lays it in the grave.

Why then should the bonds of matrimony, designed for indulgent love and harmony, be perverted to purposes of discord and rude restraint? If society has contrived this sanction for

its own security, it should not hold the sway for oppression. The practical barbarity of this unmeaning denial of justice cannot be disputed. A recent report of a committee of the English Commons showed that but one-fourth of the married persons in London lived in peace; that one-fourth were in constant turmoil; that one-fourth did not cohabit; and the other fourth were separated, and lived apart. This, perhaps, is a sample of the married world.

The moral contumacy thus exposed cannot be exclusively attributed to the supposed licentiousness of large towns and cities; on the contrary, there were 12,707 public women registered in Paris, from 1816 to 1831, a period of fifteen years; of whom 12,201 were French; and of this number 11,875, all but 326, were from the country parts of France; the proportion being almost four to one against the rural districts, and in favor of the capital.

To be sure the whole population of France is greater than the population of Paris; but only a small portion of these women came from the country; whereas, perhaps, none of them who belonged to Paris had gone from it.

The immense proportion of men and women, married and single, found in this condition, no doubt mainly comes from the vile and unnatural celibacy which the fear of public odium forces on those who cannot live in concord; who have no legal means of shaking loose from abortive matrimony; and are therefore tempted, and led off into unlawful indulgences.

Is it not wonderful that there is a remnant left of chastity? and is it strange that in some places the illegitimate exceed the legitimate births, and that licentious debauchery does not defile and pollute all the channels of society?

Why not give by law the free and honorable remedy for full and absolute divorce, wherever incongruities prevail? To limit this remedy, by its present restrictions, to certain named crimes, places the innocent in the power of the guilty, who may conceal their infidelities by the plausible disguise of genteel intercourse; defy, insult, and condemn a wife or husband to perpetual abstinence.

Evidence of flirting with other women, neglect, aversion, conjugal denial or unfitness, drunkenness, rudeness, gambling, refusal or omission to provide, laziness and loafing, morbid virility, sterility, and every such default, whether from accident,

casualty, malice, or repugnance, should be a full and sufficient cause for divorce for a woman.

And proof of aversion, neglect, infidelity, sterility, drunkenness, conjugal denial, Messalinaism, disobedience, impertinent talking back, insolent behavior, obscenity, being from home and flirting, tramping the streets without leave, by a woman, should in like manner be good cause for a divorce.

The result would be to maintain conjugal propriety, and give millions of honest and valuable members of society a chance to rid themselves of the curse of involuntary celibacy; more odious than any calamity which has ever fallen on the human race.

The idea of forcing husband and wife, against their will, to live together, and rear children, is beastly, unnatural, and impracticable.

Discoveries, creating occasions for separation, seldom occur, until after the birth of one or more children.

This is most unnecessarily made an excuse for public opinion to force upon them the endurance and continuance of disaffection; which must increase, and never is diminished by time; and which therefore turns the existence of the child into a state of wretchedness, moral and physical.

The early months of infancy demand a mother's care. Let it remain with her during this period, if proper; and after this, male or female, the child is better off with strangers than at home with strife.

If it is poor, it should be placed with an industrious mechanic or farmer; where it will be, nine times out of ten, better fed and brought up than if at such a home.

If it is to be educated, every one knows how much better the restraints and discipline of a school are than the superficial oversight of quarrelsome parents.

Cut quick this chafing rope; knock loose the galling fetters; and strike for glorious liberty.

Out upon vile bondage for a man or a woman! It is base. If they are glad in unity, the chains are gold; the silken cords are heavenly slavery, mutual joy, and glorious love.

But if there is hate and loathing, to hold them fast, or let one hold the other tight for life, is revolting, detestable, and unnatural.

The objects of matrimony are clearly defeated by these unfair, unjust, and useless restrictions upon marriage.

The restraints are cruel and dishonorable; they encourage unlawful intercourse and the production of spurious issue, who, with the best means of education, hold place in society under great disadvantages to themselves and the community.

Woman was not made a help-mate, but a "help meet" for man; and they were both told that the man should "*rule over her.*" Not that she was to be his mate, or that they were to be co-partners, with joint powers of discretion, control, and management; but that he was "*to rule over her.*"

The word "*woman*" is the name of her sex. The word "*wife*" means a woman who has a husband; the word "*husband*" is derived from the Saxon "*hus*," *house*, and "*bruena*," *land or farm*. "*The master of the house and land;*" "*the master.*"

Not a master with despotic power, for arbitrary servitude and oppression; for the wife is his "*help-meet*," that is, a companion "*meet*" and suitable for his counsel, comfort, and "*help*," not to be his menial servant.

This is the sense in which this word is used, and also that he is the "*master*" of his "*farm*," his pursuits, his abode; the accountable and responsible provider for his household; the delegated defender and appointed advocate of its peace, honor, and safety here and hereafter.

Adam and Eve were not married by any ceremony. When Eve was brought to Adam, she said nothing; but he said, "*she is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh, because she was taken out of man; and therefore a man shall cleave unto his wife.*"

That is, if a man and woman contract to live together, he is then her husband or master, and she is his wife or woman, his "*help-meet*." The "*help*" proper, natural, appropriate, and "*meet*" for him, and "*he shall rule over her.*"

That is, that the man shall protect and defend the person and purity of woman; and if he takes her for his "*help*," and holds her "*meet*" for his companionship in the holy co-partnership of marriage, that he "*shall cleave unto his wife.*" And that he shall be held responsible for the solemn and confiding surrender she makes to him of her heart and her destiny, for time and perhaps for eternity.

The words "*husband*" and "*wife*" are intended to signify and describe a man who has taken a woman as his "*meet*" or

proper "*help*," and a woman who has agreed to be thus taken and "*ruled over*" by the man, is called a "*wife*."

These words are proper names, like those designed to nominate an office, position, or station; or a relation borne by one to others, as king, general, judge, master, servant, husband, wife, and no more.

And the agreement between a husband and wife is called marriage; that is the name given to the contract, as "*a mortgage*," "*a deed*," "*a note*," "*a bill of exchange*," "*a charter party*," "*lease*," "*bond*," &c. No other interpretation has ever been given to these words by intelligent men.

A true woman, who has good sense and properly understands the design of her creation, and is not so depraved and vulgar as to revolt against it, will glory in her proper destiny. She knows that "*a loving heart is better and stronger than wisdom*;" and while she remains in her appropriate sphere, and employs her wonderful and mysterious faculties upon man, she will hold undisturbed dominion over his heart.

Consult the intelligent wives and mothers whose lives have been dedicated to conjugal fidelity, and they will ratify this solemn truth by their devout and pious prayers, that Heaven will give them grace to bring up in the ways of virtue their beloved daughters, and fit them to become faithful and obedient wives.

Matrimony is an important contract, involving consequences of great magnitude to the parties.

It is a contract for time; perhaps for eternity; but it is only a human contract; to be governed by the same rules that govern all other contracts. To say that it shall not be dissolved but for crimes is as absurd as to say that an indenture of apprenticeship, or any other contract, shall not be canceled but for crimes.

Whereas, these and all other contracts but marriage are suffered constantly to be dissolved, by the consent of the parties and by authority of law, for any cause which renders it expedient.

With the exception of modern Europe, this contract has always stood upon the same footing with all other contracts.

It was never made a religious ordinance by Divine authority, any more than births or deaths.

The Prophets, John the Baptist, our Saviour, and the Apostles, married nobody; nor does it appear that marriages were

solemnized in churches, or in their presence, or with the sanction of any religious or civil officer.

It was left to the parties to make and terminate it as they pleased, as all other contracts.

It derives no additional solemnity, strength, or sanction from its being made a religious ordinance by man.

The Old and the New Dispensations had their solemn and holy ordinances instituted by Divine command; and it may be asked whether it is not profane to fasten new ones on them to accommodate man's vain-glory and presumption.

Marriage is therefore a mere civil contract between the parties; the proof, enforcement, and relief from which are governed by the same rules which govern all other contracts.

To say that it shall not be dissolved like all other contracts, when it fails in its objects, and only for certain specified causes, without any allowances for youth, inexperience, haste, accident, and fraud, is exposing the parties to rigorous and unjust penalties; requires from them powers of discrimination and forecast which no human being ever had; deters, alarms, and discourages them from marriage, and multiplies and increases the occasions and urgencies for unlawful intercourse.

The object of marriage was to serve the mutual happiness of the parties; for the propagation of our species; and the preservation of morals.

One of the great purposes of marriage was to enhance the happiness of the parties.

The infinite and momentous consequences for good or evil which flow from this union, its securities for a life of felicity or shame, are so sure and certain, that in all times it has been looked to with trembling hope and fearful doubts.

So intimate, quick, and lively was this exquisite and painful excitement with the Athenians, in addition to every precaution against the uncertainties of mutual affection and love, that the parties and their friends met in solemn homage, and made sacrifice to the gods for their propitiation; at which the victim's gall was thrown behind the altar, with meek and pious prayers, that malice and anger should be forever banished from their souls.

If all who are married were happy, marriage would produce universal happiness.

If one-half or three-fourths of all the married are discontented with each other, then the object of marriage to that ex-

tent is defeated, and the sum of its usefulness prevented exactly in proportion to the number of those disaffected.

Now it has been seen that love must be reciprocal to produce happiness; and that with this feeling all other considerations are immaterial.

That no law, human or divine, can create these impulses; and that perhaps there is no neutral ground; that it is love or hate.

It follows, therefore, that force is cruel, despotie, and naturally wrong; and that dissatisfied men and women, thus kept married by force, are made more wretched than they can be made by any other calamity; and that in this way the sum of human happiness, the first grand object of marriage, is defeated.

This is suicidal and self-destruction; and if it should go to the extent that it inevitably would go, if there was not some pure gold left in the crucible, the reaction would discover its own strength, and openly repudiate all marriage.

The perpetual imposition of this contract when the parties are dissatisfied, one or both right or wrong, is absurd and unnatural. The senses of hearing, seeing, tasting, smelling, and feeling are identical; and, unless diseased, their test is the same.

With all, black and white, sweet and sour, &c., are the same; still the appreciation with some is in direct contradiction, and with others, in never-ending varieties.

No two men agree as to their choice or use of the sour and sweet. One riots in the sweet and juicy sugar; while another delights in the acid of the lemon; and each abhors the other.

Is there any explanation or control of these contrarieties of choice? Did any despot ever attempt these repugnances to thwart or force back? And why attempt to compel man or woman to feast in nauseous loathing upon that which their inscrutable appetites detest?

Red-hot irons, and every species of physical sufferings have been heaped on man; but there never was contrived or put in use for legal torture a drastic purge or nauseous vomit.

This punishment of forcing marriage upon the parties against their will, and refusing to give them relief for good cause of divorce, would seem to imply that the connection is unlawful, indecent, obscene, odious, and immoral; that those who have the temerity to contract it shall have no help; upon the prin-

ple that the law goes upon of refusing aid or relief to parties who have made a contract for an illicit or unlawful intercourse.

This was never done by Divine authority, nor by man, in any case except this.

If we sin against God, he will permit us to repent. We are furnished with two chances for future happiness; we are born innocent, and, however we debase ourselves, we are suffered to repent, and be saved.

One malefactor was pardoned on the cross, and the other perhaps would have been redeemed, if he had asked for mercy.

We have every chance to escape from evil brought on by mishap or wilful folly.

A suicide, a sick murderer, receives from man the refreshing cordial, the healing unguent.

In all the perplexities of health and life, we help each other, however base or trodden down, unless forsooth in marriage.

If the exigencies for this contract are so eminently and intimately identified with the existence of the race as to justify the force by law of connubial intercourse, there would then seem to be some reason in its perpetuity. But unless the first was necessary, the last is not required.

If the formation of the contract is left open to the free will of the parties, its dissolution ought, in like manner, to be at their disposal. No man should be encouraged to swindle and decoy.

A man is wandering in a rich and verdant orchard, loaded down with tempting, luscious, and fragrant fruit. His cold and sapless frame before had lived on air and sight.

Instinct, perchance, with pause, now makes him look and look again upon the clustering glories loosely waving on the bending boughs; he marks again, and starts amazed; the blooming unctuous tempt his new-born taste.

The sudden appetite is roused to instant and impetuous hunger; he dares to touch and press the smooth, delicious rapture to his burning lips; wild convulsions and frenzy seize his burning heart and brain.

Involuntarily he eats, and finds the tree that bears that fruit has juice unpleasant to his mouth. Shall man decree, condemn, and sentence him for life to eat this bitter fruit, perhaps to others sweet?

The happiness of society is not encouraged or secured by any unusual constraints upon this contract; on the contrary,

it is manifest that its peace, good order, and repose are disturbed and endangered.

The interests of society are deeply concerned in maintaining a policy, by which no obstacles shall lie in the way of permanent and happy marriages. The contracting parties are free to act for themselves; they are not required by law to get married.

They are permitted to exercise their unbiassed will. There is no recommendation or force.

And the making of the contract rests upon the same grounds as the formation of all other lawful contracts, without the least interference by the law.

In all other cases, the parties are allowed to revoke their contracts, and make others of the same nature and for the same purposes with other persons. There is no reason why the rule should be different in marriage contracts.

No author or authority can be found, nor any argument given, to show the reason why the law should permit and sanction a relief from one contract more than another; or why there should be absolute restrictions upon the dissolution of the contract of marriage.

It is asserted, but no reason is given for it, the laws of some of the churches peremptorily forbid its dissolution for any cause.

They say that marriages *are* registered in heaven. They should say that all contracts, however trifling or small, are recorded there; and we are told that there is no discrimination. Marriages are no more binding than a contract to pay a just debt of one cent; and there is as much sin in breaking the word in one case as in the other.

The conventional codes of ecclesiastics differ as to excuses for all breaches of faith. They are generally inexorable, and hold that hell is the certain doom of every sin.

The better argument seems to be that mercy and compassion for the frailties and accidents of life are more reasonable not as a means or a medium of escape, but relief and reformation.

This policy has been adopted by civil society, and, like the law laid down in the Scriptures, as they are now very generally understood, there is no condition into which a man falls, even by crime, in which he is refused the privilege of reformation.

Executive and popular pardons are carried to a point of almost censurable complacency.

And no code ever made by man failed to give liberal and generous relief, in cases of mistake or accident.

Fraud everywhere vacates a contract; to show the fact of fraud *ipso facto* annuls the bargain.

And mistakes and accidents, when fairly made out, are always relieved against.

The rules of common sense and natural justice would revolt at the bare thought of holding a man for life to a covenant made in haste, and without a knowledge of his rights.

It would be savage cruelty to tell him he should have seen to it beforehand; that he should have been more careful, and it serves him right.

None but a brute would breathe forth such a flagrant trespass of the golden rule, to do unto others as you would have them do unto you.

Legislative and judicial relief has been in all times given to hard bargains; and if it were not so, the refusal would involve the impracticable and false proposition that all men are perfect with the powers of present scrutiny and foreknowledge; or that public law is made to contrive machines of torture.

All this is as clear to every man's mind as the injustice and absurdity of making the contract of marriage an exception to the general rule of permitting the parties to dissolve it themselves; or for the courts to do it for them where they cannot agree, upon the same terms as all other contracts are governed.

It is admitted that it may be done for certain specified offences; but not for aversion or mere incompatibility of taste and bad behavior. These are always fatal obstacles to co-habitation. Sometimes, crimes and the specified causes of divorce are not so.

Put the party on oath; let the answer, with its corroborations and contradictions, be listened to and witnessed by the tribunal; if it is not true, reject it; if it is true, give relief.

The complaining parties must be heard in all cases when the cause of complaint is exclusively within their knowledge. This is a rule in every day's practice. It is said to arise "*ex necessitate rei.*"

Hear also the opposite side. If there has been fraud by either upon the other's property, require indemnity. See too if there is affectation, impertinent or sinister collision. If so, dismiss the complainant; but if either is really dissatisfied, cut the cord.

They can do each other no good, and are useless to society. They cannot be forced to live together. If there is a chance for reconciliation, defer the decree; but do not refuse relief; together hold them not by force.

Let all good equities be done; restoration of property; mutual concessions of the truth; but no cruelty; no force.

Both were willing at the first, or they would not have married. If they cease to be willing from any cause, why hold them together after marriage any more now than force them to marry against their will?

It is as absurd and unjust to constrain them to live together against their consent, as to force them to marry against their will.

The former would be more reasonable; for before trial there might be a chance that they would agree; but after trial and failure the chance is gone.

Complaints in filiation and a mittimus for prison are presently abandoned upon the consent of the defendant to marry the complainant, who holds the defendant on her own oath alone; and if she refuse the offer, her charge is dismissed.

Who ever witnessed one of these scenes of barbarism without disgust? They are enacted every day; and though obscure and brutal, they are just as reasonable, and perhaps more consistent with the chances of the subsequent harmony and propagation of the parties, than the same force employed to keep the parties together after a voluntary marriage and the discovery of mutual or separate occasions of personal dislike.

This legal relief is never asked for by persons in the humble walks of life, who have no position to lose; they separate and squander without compunction; or waste time; they run round till they get suited; and are always married.

There is not with this class of the community a tithe of the illicit intercourse that there is with the dissatisfied whose means and condition fasten them to society; and who are therefore the victims of public opinion; who are useless to the public; lead lives of domestic torture, unnatural celibacy, or secret and unlawful intercourse.

The true policy is to adapt public institutions to what is expedient as well as that which is necessary.

The contingencies of society frequently demand legal tolerations, which are by some considered wrong.

The use of ardent spirits and theatrical exhibitions are, by

some, considered immoral. It has been found that the regulation, and not the prohibition by law, of these and other more repugnant and indelicate propensities, better subserves the public peace and morals.

So, too, with marriage. Some hold that it can only be dissolved with death, and the erroneous inclinations of society lean to that conclusion; but experience has shown that this is impracticable, and its dissolution, for some causes, has been sanctioned.

Thus, the rigor of the rule has been relaxed, and the concession has been acknowledged, that it may lawfully be dissolved.

Now, if it may be dissolved for any cause, why not for every good cause?

What is the criterion? Who is to judge?

The criterion, and the judge of that criterion, is the true practical result.

If the experience of generations has shown that married persons cannot be made to live together unless they choose, and that the refusal to release them renders them useless or immoral, then the law should recognize, and, by its wholesome dispensation, meet that result, excuse the unfortunate parties from their dilemma, and relieve society of the odium it suffers by these inevitable transgressions.

That is, if husband and wife may be divorced for one good cause, that it shall be lawful to divorce them for any good cause; and that every cause is a good one which works a permanent and settled obstacle to the moral and animal fruitions which marriage was designed to consecrate.

So much for relief by the law; but where the parties consent, where is the possible objection?

If it is urged that they should be protected, and one should not be suffered to coax, persuade, menace or force the other for consent.

Prevent this by a solemn deed in legal form, with all the just and safe precautions of judicial private examinations, by which coercion and fraud are now guarded against in the grant of a wife's lands.

There is a manifest inconsistency in the impudent solicitude affected to be entertained in preventing divorces by collusion, or by consent of the parties, when no sort of provision is made for the safety or protection of persons from frauds and impositions while they are contracting marriages.

Then the door is left wide open ; innocent and spotless children are inveigled, beguiled, and seduced away to scandalous and clandestine marriages, by the most heartless scoundrels, for the most atrocious purposes.

Has any father or mother, however horrible and true their cause of complaint, of brutal, beastly marriage, ever been told by a magistrate that the law furnished him with forms or power for writ or injunction against the debauched marauder upon virgin purity ?

And yet, if this heart-broken, crushed, and suffering angel kneels at the altar of justice, bathed in tears of sorrow, and overwhelmed with wrongs insufferable, her outspread hands upon the holy Gospel, and her brimful eyes upturned to Heaven, declares how much in innocence she loved and was betrayed, and how she has been roused to consciousness by coarse and brutal wrongs, she is told, for better and for worse, she is bound to suffer and submit, for so the Lord hath said, unless for certain crimes indietment can be made and proved.

The crimes he does she dares not see, and if she did, she cannot prove, and thus, for life, she is cast away upon the stormy deep, no helm or sail, to fill with woe and sink in death.

Reverse this picture : let the denial of conjugal duty and common right be by either to the other, made with common caution and no art, and it is plain that all legal technicalities can be defied.

The injured party has no redress, and marriage, no odds how it was made, in fun or fraud, is literal hell on earth.

For every man and woman thus condemned to living death, the law professes to be glorified ; but society is robbed out of their usefulness in this life, and heaven, perhaps, in the world to come. No lawful propagation comes from them.

If there are but two or ten of such on earth, their wanton, unnatural condemnation to celibacy is an unmeaning and accursed injury to them and all the world, and the most damned wrong that man did ever put upon his fellow man.

The strength and glory of a kingdom " consist in the multitude of its people, and, therefore, celibacy, above all things, ought to be discouraged."

Whence comes this gasconading ethical flourish, but from black hypocrisy ?

Who strips, by infamous juggling, the kingdom of its natural power to shine in lawful glory ?

If three-fourths of all who marry do not cohabit because they will not; and they cannot be forced to it, then, by vulgar power and coarse profanity, the world is filched of more than half its honest treasures.

For, if they had a chance, they all would change by harmless joint or legal shifts, until a final fit in all congruity and love would set them sober, solid down in honorable harmony for life.

It cannot be truly said that those misfits are always morally wrong; or why do sometimes both desert, and, but for want of formal sanction, live for life in love and peace with others?

If, thus unhelped by public lift, they join in all that nature prompts, is it for sensual lust alone? and would they not, if possible, if free to act, add marriage to their voluntary and natural harmony?

No such man or woman ever preferred secret and shameful intercourse to ratified and open coverture.

Out of twelve thousand unfortunate women in a European metropolis, all but two had been betrayed into vice by gross ignorance, fraud, seduction, and want: and so mysterious is the exquisite texture of the female character, that numerous instances were found in which this revolting sacrifice had been secretly made for bread for starving husbands, children, and parents.

The pungent promptings of ungovernable virility are fierce; it is nature's law, designed for wise and obvious use, to make us mutually love and reproduce our perishing race.

But with its invincible urgency, there are blended, as with the flame, the soft and mellow rainbow shades of bright seraphic glory.

The passions are warmed and fanned by never-dying instinct; and purely, proudly blended with an honest hope for all the holy joy and harmless promptings of sweet celestial love.

It is not beastly lust; the charge against man in this is false; it is a base and flagrant lie, conceived with seared and envious hate.

Man is rude by mixture with a coarse and wrangling world. Example strong, temptations sharp, lead him to folly, selfishness, and crime against his fellow man.

But for woman, old and young, who on him look and smile, as did his mother and his sister, his heart is full of peace and homage.

He loves them all; and will fight and toil, and slave his life away to save and give them bread.

Mutual, pure, and blessed love, the living unction of our inmost souls, so sweet, so pure, that it cannot be marred or quenched!

It may be rudely chafed and wronged, but it will leap up with hope till mutual peace and joy are found.

Why whip and scourge it down in honor's name? Why not let it, trembling, verge to the almighty loadstone of its inevitable destiny?

It is demonstrated that marriage happiness is not promoted, and that propagation is not secured, but most seriously impeded, by the arbitrary enforcement of the contract of marriage.

And it will now be shown that morals and public decency are not promoted by it, and that, on the contrary, this misconceived and misapplied regulation occasions nearly all the secret and open prostitution in the world.

It is much more unreasonable to prevent parties from being divorced who are essentially unprepared to live together than it would be to forbid marriage or to interdict the commerce of the sexes altogether.

If those unmarried were to obey this injunction, and really abstain, it is as to that the same; but the difference between them and the married is that, if the married disobey, they are guilty of adultery, which, by some laws, is punished by death; whereas, those unmarried are but simple fornicators, who are never punished.

It is seen that men may consistently live single, and that women cannot; yet men have as great a desire for marriage as women, and, whenever they see their way clear, they almost always get wives, and make large and noble contributions at the shrine of marriage.

Rich and educated men marry poor and ignorant women for their innocence and simplicity—educate them, and cherish their homes with a true devotion.

Woman has more ardor and excitement, but her nature is incapable of the deep and solid attachment which pervades the heart of man.

Her love is more lofty; his more firm; hers is more fervent; his is more durable.

No obstacle should be suffered to lie in the way of marriage;

and every facility should be afforded by law to encourage its legitimate accommodation.

The reciprocations of nature are essential to health and life.

Whatever obstructs or discourages their lawful indulgence condemns the sexes to abstinence and illicit intercourse.

Those who have gone into monastic seclusion are charged with insincerity and infamous subterfuges; and, if true to their faith, they inevitably and prematurely perish.

These restrictions upon marriage most intimately, if not almost exclusively, inconvenience persons of intelligence and private enterprise; the class of society that constitutes its moral and political resources.

Their number is relatively few; and their services so infinitely important in maintaining the balance of order against anarchy, that their influence cannot be spared.

If they have a fair chance, they all become useful and valuable members of society.

Their natural impulses incline them to take rank with respectable men, and assist in maintaining the substantial interests of the public. And if they do not do so, it is because they are prevented.

Those who have no such aspirations, ten, if not one hundred to one of the great mass, who are ignorant and helpless, float about, the sport of vicissitudes, without stability, thrift, industry, or providence.

They take no interest in the institutions of society; look at them as children gaze at stars. They never rise above, and generally are below the grade of dependents, servants, laborers, soldiers or mariners; they attempt business, and fail for want of sagacity and enterprise.

All the legitimate pursuits and professions are much embarrassed, and society grievously wronged, by this half-witted race. It would be much better if very many now engaged on their own account would remain in secondary spheres, where they might be useful and avoid exposure.

The question under notice is wholly indifferent to them; their shades of morals and good and bad propensities are irrespective of mind.

Their animal wants are few; their mental capacities scarcely above the first grade of humanity. They are insensible to emulation and hope, and have no thought but for the present. They shift about as their fears or wants suggest.

If they cannot agree, they pay no regard to their marriage obligations; seldom quarrel; separate by agreement or desert each other without ceremony; are always married, and rear their children at their own cost.

The humble and obscure condition of these people keeps them from public notice; but, notwithstanding the great number of abandoned and dissolute persons amongst them, there are very few who are unmarried.

They equally abhor celibacy and promiscuous intercourse.

Right or wrong, they will get married, until they are suited; and thousands of them, all over the world, in the face of existing marriages, without disguise or concealment, are fully recognized as respectable, and live in commendable harmony.

If the result is a moral and civil advantage, then *they* are right, and the constraint referred to is wrong.

They shun vice and immorality; and so far as they can, they contribute to the cause of industry, good order, and fraternal love.

They obey the first law of conjugation; which is in proud and voluntary faith for one husband and one wife.

The Arab, or the Choctaw in his aboriginal ignorance, may have his concubines; but he detests a strumpet; and proudly sustains through life the wife of his choice.

The brigand or the gipsy's bride will hire for procuration or murder; but the slightest tamper with her chastity starts out the gleaming steel of resentment and revenge.

Why then should this great proportion of society be denied the benefit of a legal sanction for that which is obviously demanded by every consideration of morals, public order, and private happiness?

For them it is required as an act of sheer justice and policy; but for the first-named class, this restriction leads directly to the most cruel and pernicious consequences.

Let those who stand take heed lest they fall. Judge not lest ye be judged. There is no passion or propensity so strong as the spirit of reciprocal approximation.

There never was a man or woman at maturity and in health with unengaged affections, with the heart open and without being occupied by some latent preference, who held the power to repel the secret influences of this overwhelming and invincible impulse.

It is as elevated as it is instinctive; as pure as it is ungovernable.

It has no fault; no thought of wrong.

It is the first innocent throb of the matured soul.

It is the mysterious essence of consecrated affinity, and loathes an unsanctified consummation.

Is this speculation wrong *per se*?

If it is so, then nature is wrong; for it has ordained this inevitable catastrophe *per se*; and all mankind practically acknowledge, however they may theoretically deny, its truth.

Ecclesiasties may fulminate their censures, and disgusting *crim. con.* suits may be pushed upon the courts; but the law, although it scowls in mimic wrath, smites not the absconding wife or husband.

Nor has public prejudice ever fallen on the issue of those unmarried. When they are appropriately trained and educated, they enjoy the full and generous countenance of society.

Such children rarely turn out badly. They generally take rank, and are distinguished for a high order of mind and refinement.

“The lot of the unfortunate Ishmael and his unoffending mother have always been to me peculiarly interesting. An infant expelled his father’s house for no offence, thrown under a tree to starve, the victim of an old man’s dotage and a termagant’s jealousy. God forgive the wicked thought (if it be wicked)! but, speaking in a temporal sense, and knowing the histories of the two families, I would rather be the outcast Ishmael than the pampered Isaac, the father of the favored people of God. I know not what divines may see, but I see nothing contrary to the Divine attributes in supposing, that when in the one, God thought proper to give a grand example of mercy and benevolence, he should think proper to give in the other a grand example of retributive justice. The descendants of the pampered Isaac have known little but misery, have become a byword of contempt, the slaves of slaves: but the descendants of the outcast Ishmael, in their healthy country, proverbial for its luxury and happiness (*Felix*), have walked with heads erect. The world has bowed beneath their yoke, or trembled at their name; but they *never have* either bowed or trembled, and I hope and trust they *never will*.”—GODFREY HIGGINS’s *Celtic Druids*, p. 68.

There are no metaphysical postulates, no earthly power that

can change or restrain this fructiferous and invincible instinct of human nature.

These great fundamental laws of reason are written upon the hearts of all men; and, however the blind and sullen spirit of prejudice and oppression may strive to force down the natural and unavoidable repugnances of married persons against their wills, society at large withholds its countenance and yields its free sympathies for honorable freedom and nature's rational independence.

They judge their fellow-creatures by their motives and not by false standards.

If they see their neighbors industrious, honest, and respectable, they accord to them the boon of pure intentions; and waste not their time or their tempers with slander and gossip.

No objection can be raised against the proposed reformation, upon the ground that the characters of the parties would suffer by conventional or compulsory separation.

For crimes it may now be had. Causes such as settled aversion and those before referred to being included, no injustice is done. The record will advertise the cause.

If it is a fault, the delinquent will have no cause to murmur; and the complainant will get but an act of common justice.

If it is for causes involving personal or mental discrepancies; let them be written down; they may form no objection with another with whom they may not be provoked.

Physical and mental disagreements offensive to some are acceptable and agreeable to others.

The notion that parties may take advantage of youth and purity, and then cast each other off from satiety, is promptly answered by the character of the proposed remedy; which should not in any case give relief without merits.

The parties are none the worse for former marriage. If they have done wrong, it is the evil they have done that harms them, and not the marriage.

There is no moral impurity or personal defilement in honorable marriage; however often it may have happened.

Proper separations will leave the parties in these respects upon the same footing as widows or widowers.

In a physical point of view, all experience shows men and women of this description to be improved and better fit for another marriage.

The whole murmur upon this subject is untrue, mawkish, affected, and absurd.

The parties are radieally better in health, experience, and morals, than they are before they are married.

Widows and widowers seldom fail to make advantageous and happy marriages.

There is no class of society who are held in more respectful and favorable estimation than they are.

Where is the difference between them and the divorcee? They stand upon the same moral footing; one has been left alone by death, and is free from fault; the other has become single by quiet and mutual agreement; or for a cause implying no fault; and therefore they both stand upon the same irreproachable platform.

This, and all other remarks in this connection, are intended for those who are respectable and mean well; and not for exceptionable characters; for those, whether single by death or divorcee, are without the pale of private or public favor.

It is supposed that the whole material world occasionally suffers a gradual, imperceptible, and complete change; that, at the end of certain periods of time, there is nothing left of the antecedent formation; and that an entire fruition has swollen out from the original germ.

This theory is not disputed as to the physical, nor can it be as to the moral world; the reasons for both are equally strong.

Persons do not often mature until thirty or forty. These developments frequently present themselves in stature, voice, and intellect, palpably and radically different.

In the last century, two students of a graduating class presented marked discrepancies of proficieney and mental power.

One obtained the highest honor of the university amidst the applause and wonder of the faculty; while the other received a sullen direction for another year's study.

The first lived a long life of effeminate and genteel half-cut idioey; and the other for many years held a solid and dignified rank with the brightest ornaments and profoundest jurists of his country.

These unavoidable and mysterious changes are often developed some time after marriage; and however the affinities of the parties may then eoneur, they may afterwards be in such disord

as to render their lives and usefulness wholly abortive; although both might happily furnish contributions of mutual peace and harmony with others.

This position is wonderfully sustained by the fact that widows, and widowers, and the divorced seldom, if ever, fail to exhibit models of unaffected matrimonial felicity.

This occurs too, sometimes, where there are distinct natural incompatibilities.

Washington and Napolcon both married widows who had been mothers, but with them were not mothers.

There was no discrepancy in their affections; no married persons were ever more mutually proud and contented.

There was a natural disaffinity with the latter; his mental struggle yielded to a desire for paternity; but this wonderful instinct was compromised by the former at the shrine of love; and he died childless.

With the masses, mutual and take leave disruptions are made without ceremony; and with acknowledged advantage to the parties and the public.

If this practice, under proper regulations, was sanctioned by law, the benefits of marriage would be largely increased.

To the better classes of society the result would be immeasurably beneficial.

There would then be with husbands desirous to live with their wives stronger inducements to avoid careless behavior; more kindness and fidelity; and with such wives more forbearance and accommodation; and less rebellion, disobedience, and defiance.

There would be no prostitution; for both parties, conscious of its odium, would insist upon marriage; and however often it might be dissolved, this stigma would never blot the female character.

It is an awful calamity, which sweeps millions of helpless and confiding females to an infamous grave; from which they would, in mercy, thus be spared.

There would then be no spurious issue from promiscuous connections, to perish by famine and infanticide; no *homo in-nominatus*.

All would be married or single; without shame to look at others, or cause of shame to be looked upon; and clandestine elopements and incestuous seductions would be for ever stopped.

Where there are disagreements under the present system, the parties resisting separation are never influenced by serious or sincere motives.

They talk and prate of religion, law, and lawful wedded rights; but they are not entitled to, nor do they obtain, any credit for their affectation of conjugal duty.

True pride, delieacy, honor, and religion intuitively shrink from such gross hypocrisy, seek retirement, and prefer mutual and quiet concessions.

The secret impulses of their hearts are anger, revenge, vexation, selfishness, chagrin, bitterness, cold and venal lust for money.

There is no mournful sorrow in their souls; it is mean and sordid speculation; they never die of grief.

They impudently live and feed on extortion, and wither away by abstinence and bile.

They have no charity; no liberal emotions; they are sulky, sullen, and wholly selfish.

They are not bashful or timid; entertain no feelings of reciprocal duty; no compunctions of shame or remorse.

The world should know that marriage contracts are nothing but plain up and down bargains, in which the private motives of the parties are often kept in profound secrecy; that, however bland, soft, and loving they are, each one has secret thoughts and objects that no earthly temptation could induce them to disclose to each other.

Marriage, with all its charms and simplicities, is, in some measure, naturally and necessarily sinister. Millions marry with secrets they would shudder to tell, and never do make known; the concealment of which is honest and proper; and the disclosure of which would be rude, in bad taste, and destructive of all the sweets of conjugal felicity.

With woman it is best explained in the literal verification of the frank avowal that "*I loved him because he first loved me.*"

When both are warmed by this rich and holy joy, the affections being mutual, and their contributions reciprocal, marriage is a priceless boon. No earthly pleasure can equal its exquisite rapture. Its pure and ecstatic fruitions can only be compared to the seraphic participations of heavenly bliss.

Without this mutual sentiment, this union, this true and genuine love, it is a sanctioned but fleeting sensuality.

A bare glance at the infidelity, hatred, hypocrisy, treachery, impurities, oppression, and brutal violence with the badly mated and unfitted world is revolting.

Its abuse gives rise to a larger amount of disgusting scandal in one year than could come in an age from a wise, and discreet, and legal accommodation for past-nuptial disputes.

The impetuous and impregnable affinities of nature precipitate the sexes blindfold into promiscuous marriage; from the bewildering ecstasies of which, too often, they waken up amidst the most insupportable mental, moral, and physical disaffinities and inconsistencies; without the least chance for assimilation or concord.

For life they are tortured by impatience, provoked by desperation, and urged by fierce temptations to shifts, subterfuges, and deceptions, more revolting to themselves than their worst delinquencies are obnoxious to morality.

The arbitrary and gossiping condemnation of public scandal, the despotic denial of relief, and the constant dread and terror to which they are condemned, occasion nearly all the secret licentiousness prevalent with that portion of the world in this dilemma, who otherwise would be useful to society, and who sincerely wish to be respectable.

All other classes are outside of the occasions for the redress here invoked. They accommodate their caprice and self-will as their propensities impel them. They do not ask for or want moral sympathy or legal aid.

It is for those who honestly wish to be respectable, and by accident, indiscretion, or fraud, are thus embarrassed, that this appeal is made.

No excuse or encouragement should be given, nor should any relaxation be allowed, for a faithful and rigid obedience to all the duties of mutual and reciprocal forbearance, self-denial, fidelity, and good faith hereinbefore recited.

Under no subterfuges should the married suffer themselves to indulge in personal, sinister, or private thoughts, astray from each other. Every jot of their whole souls should be freely, fully, truly, and honestly laid open to each other.

The present system goes upon the ground that there is no occasion for divorces but for the causes named by law; and that the parties should not be allowed in any case to divorce themselves, although they are authorized to marry themselves.

It is obvious that the first proposition is as absurd as it is

false, for every other contract can be abrogated by the parties to it; and legislatures constantly grant divorces *ex parte* for any cause they choose to recognize, though it be not named in their statutes.

Why not pass a law authorizing the courts to grant divorces in all the cases already now provided for, including those hereinbefore named and referred to, and in all other cases where sufficient cause is shown?

The courts are much more competent to conduct and pass upon these delicate and local cases than legislators; great exposure and expense would be avoided, and numerous frauds, corruptions, and perjuries would be prevented.

The courts now hold exclusive jurisdiction of life, liberty, and property, and why should this most proper and appropriate power be withheld from them?

If they held it, a code of wise and judicious law and practice could be established on this subject that would afford ample protection to the timid and helpless, prevent oppression and fraud, and abundantly redress all occasions and causes for the mutual or compulsory revocation of marriage.

The law, as it now stands, is inhuman, cruel, and unnatural. It was dictated by the ignorant bigotry and brutal despotism of the Dark Ages. It is without reason, right, or mercy, an incentive to fraud, extortion, seduction, adultery, and murder, and a burning reproach upon the moral sense and intelligence of civilized man.

## CHAPTER X.

### INFLEXIBLE PREJUDICES.

Tale of the American Revolution—Tories—Refugees—The Whigs—Mountain Blues—Declaration of Independence—Perth Amboy—A law-suit—Prejudices—Sympathy—Surprise—Thomas McKean—Signers of the Declaration of Independence—Their number—Education—Ages—Length of life, &c.

WHEN the impulses and prejudices obtain possession of the mind, right or wrong, they become inflexible; and if they are sanctioned by the convictions of justice, their dominion is supreme.

Religion and politics, in all times, have furnished wide spheres of action for these invincible propensities of the human heart.

At the breaking out of the American Revolution, there was, with the people of the provinces, a concurrence of favorable circumstances, happily without any strong countervailing influence, making an occasion for the enterprise such as never occurred before then; and such as, perhaps, will not again happen.

The great mass of the people were men of education, industry, and piety.

They had left their fatherland under the pressure of insufferable wrongs. Their spirit of rebellion had been cherished for generations, and carefully infused into the minds of their sturdy and independent offspring.

Their compact was so thorough and firm, that their invaders would have gained small advantages, and the war would have been brief, but for the minions of loyalty, and the swarms of Tories and Shylocks with which the country was filled.

The vindication of their cause was straightforward, sensibly expressed, and intelligibly explained. It was fully understood, and heartily espoused, by every member of their party.

They were all in earnest, and could not see, how the truth and justice of their doctrines could be drawn in question. They

denied their enemies all credit for sincerity, and openly impugned the integrity of their motives.

There never was a more distinct and explicit explanation of facts and reasons than those set out by the Declaration of Independence.

They peremptorily denied that there was any room left for speculation or argument.

They openly debated their resolutions for resistance and freedom; and vehemently denounced and repudiated all monarchical, feudal, and ecclesiastical oppression.

They felt that the soil was their own, and that God had ordained that they should be free.

It is not difficult, therefore, to conceive the scorn and disdain in which they held the puppets and spies who watched and betrayed them; the heartless wretches, who speculated upon their wants, and facilitated the refugees in their robbery and murder.

A long series of years of unutterable wrongs inspired them with deadly hatred to their enemies, and cemented them to each other in undying faith.

Their overwhelming and predominating sympathies swept everything before them, like the angry billows of the ocean.

During the whole period of the Revolution, and for many years succeeding its close, there was a combination of causes, which called into action their most superhuman efforts, and imposed constraints and self-denials most imperious and provoking.

They were all politicians, statesmen, teamsters, and soldiers. They knew the essential importance of the undivided energy and exertions of each man. There was no intrigue for office; every one solemnly felt that the public safety depended upon, and imperiously demanded, that the very best men should be selected for every trust.

Those who were immediately dependent on the patronage of the crown, very soon after the war broke out, returned home; but the daring and sordid adventurers and Tories remained, to embrace the chancre for gain and plunder always afforded by troubled and contraband trade.

The stringent markets, and urgent demands for money, opened a wide door for extortion and usury.

The public necessities required a relaxed exercise of policies; and those who ran with the hounds, and held with the game, controlled the entire traffic of the country.

In Congress, in the army, and in all the public and private departments of the country, the Whigs were chafed and baffled by their impudent exactions. The more imminent the crisis, the more audacious and grinding their extortions.

Credit and personal security were banished. Almost all the lands, cattle, and other property, under the pinching urgencies of the times, was in peril of being passed for nominal considerations, in some form, into the possession of the Tories and refugees.

Their marauding was done in disguise, as Indians and negroes; while they maintained the outward profession of peace and circumspection.

Detentions were difficult, and prosecutions dangerous. The public exigencies required that none should be punished but open belligerents; and, after the peace, a spirit of amnesty seemed to be called for, by the benignant professions of the new government, and the manifest want of the people for quiet and tranquillity. They were disgusted with shooting and gibbets.

Notwithstanding these indemnities, the flagitious frauds and plots of the Tories sometimes exposed them to imminent personal danger.

Courts and juries could scarcely be restrained from an open denial of law, when these obnoxious scoundrels were parties litigant.

Thousands of stale claims upon deeds and contracts, extorted by pressing want, duress, and imprisonment, were sued out; and the doekets were loaded down with ejectments and mortgage suits, for the best lands in the country.

These miscreants would coolly take their seats in court, and impudently demand from the judges and jury, whom they had wronged and persecuted during the whole war, an impartial and unflinching validation of their infamous contracts.

A scoundrel and a murderer, who had held covert intercourse with, and fed and sheltered the enemy, and showed them where and whom to rob and burn; personally known in all these atrocities, by the tribunal trying his cause; and also known to have obtained his writing in issue for a dollar or a pound, from a starving soldier of Washington's army, now demanded the penalty of his accursed bond.

Was it strange that these insulted and indignant patriots should sometimes revolt from these profane and loathing functions?

No men were ever required to do their duty under circumstances of such unmitigated, heart-rending chagrin and vexation.

One of these noble, unwavering, and sturdy patriots of liberty, who had everywhere during this long and doubtful struggle resolutely dedicated his life and great talents for his country's redemption, after the peace became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He was a jurist of the highest order.

In this connection, a brief sketch of an interesting trial, which came before this judge, will perhaps give some illustrations of the extent and character of the excitements referred to.

An eminent lawyer was called on to bring an action of ejectment for a young man who had been some twenty years covered up in the ruins of the Revolution.

The extent of the land was great, and it had increased in value. The present occupants supposed their title to be good by time. A fierce and obstinate resistance would be made. And all the prejudices against stale and unpopular claims against the peaceable holders of improved lands would have to be encountered.

They had been so frequently made by Tories, ostensibly for the use of meritorious Whig families, and their descendants, and so many frauds had been thus perpetrated, that all these actions had now come to be identified with unqualified suspicion and hatred.

The preparation in this case was tedious. The plaintiff had but one witness to prove that his father, from whom he claimed descent, died within twenty-one years. It was known how readily a pretext could be made to question the sufficiency of one witness to a fact of so much importance as a point of time, about which all human memory is supposed to be uncertain and unsafe.

Great efforts were made to discover some corroborating fact, by a public event, that might have occurred at the same period. At length it was ascertained that the death of one of the parties happened at the time, and under the notice of, a distinguished individual, so as to give to the occasion many interesting confirmatory tendencies.

The action was brought; the trial came on; the jury were sworn; the crowd and the excitement were great. The case was opened by the cautious and experienced counsel for the plaintiff, quietly and without the least display or boast.

He stated the facts; gave no reason for the delay in bringing

the suit ; avoided all reference to the difficulties of his case ; and stated that a plea of the statute of limitations had been put in by the defendants ; which would be met by proof that the plaintiff's father died within twenty-one years, seized of the lands in question.

He then read in evidence certified copies of the paper title, from the original proprietary grants, down to the plaintiff's father ; and called the Register of Wills of the county, who testified that no will of the plaintiff's father had been proved in, or could be found in, his office ; and that no letters of administration had been granted to his estate.

The witness was then turned over to the defendants for cross-examination.

*Question.*—"Do you know, sir, this plaintiff?"

*Answer.*—"No, sir : I never saw or heard of him before this suit was brought."

*Question.*—"Do you know his name, or who his father was, or where he came from?"

*Answer.*—"No, sir—I know nothing of them."

*Question.*—"Do you know any one that ever did know either of them?"

*Answer.*—"No, sir ; I have taken uncommon pains to inquire ; I can find no one who ever heard of them. When this suit was brought, it produced universal alarm. We have hunted high and low, but cannot find out who they are. Nobody knows where this plaintiff comes from ; he won't tell anybody ; and when we ask Mr. Duncan, he says it will all be satisfactorily explained on the trial."

*Defendants' Counsel* (in an under tone)—"I guess it will puzzle them to make it out."

*Plaintiff's Attorney to Defendant's Counsel.*—"Have you finished your cross-examination of the Register, sir?"

*Defendants' Attorney.*—"Yes, sir, we have." (And to the court)—"Now, may it please your honor, we beg leave to call upon the court to direct the plaintiff to explain now who he is ; where he comes from ; and what he had to do with the grantee last named."

*Plaintiff's Attorney (to the court).*—"Why, sir, upon the pleadings there are set forth all the legal requisites, or the learned counsel for the defendants would have demurred to the declaration.

"If they will be patient, they shall in due time have all the

particulars; and if we fail to prove them, they will defeat the plaintiff.

“I did not open the particulars, because I was not required to do so; and I decline now, as I have before done, to my learned adversaries, to name more than they have heard.

“I have good reasons for this, which will very soon be disclosed. I therefore ask leave to proceed, and respectfully beg leave to request that the court will not suffer me to be again interrupted by the restless impatience and irritation of the defendants and their counsel.

“There is an obvious and very general feeling of distrust and suspicion which the plaintiff has to encounter. But I take leave to say in advance, that, before this day has closed in, no accidents intervening, the tide of public excitement will have run down to its lowest ebb; and that the current of just sympathy will flow back with an overwhelming flood.”

*Judge (to Plaintiff's Attorney).*—“Proceed, sir; when there is anything offered, if objected to, I will hear it; there is no formal objection before me now.

“This case is, like all others, to be tried by the pleadings and the law; no special requirements can be demanded or enforced. Go on, Mr. Duncan.”

Mr. Duncan then called up an infirm man with a severe cough. He was thin; rested upon crutches; was clean, but poorly clad; with a clear intellectual face and bright eye; but a total stranger to every one present.

He was sworn; kissed the Bible; and asked and obtained leave to be seated. He was looked at with obtrusive scrutiny and manifest suspicion. The plaintiff's counsel then examined him as follows:—

*Question.*—“What is your name, sir?”

*Answer.*—“My name is Frederick Shaffer.”

*Question.*—“How old are you?”

*Answer.*—“I am forty years old.”

*Question.*—“Where were you born?”

*Answer.*—“I was born in the mountain back here.”

*Question.*—“Do you know the plaintiff, Jacob Widener?”

*Answer.*—“Yes—I have known him ever since he was born; we are from one mother.”

*Question.*—“Then you knew his father?”

*Answer.*—“Yes, I knew him; his name was Jacob too.”

*Question.*—“Is he dead?”

*Answer.*—“Yes, he is dead: he died twenty years ago last February; I saw him die, and buried him.”

*Question.*—“How old was his son Jacob then?”

*Answer.*—“He was a little boy then, about three years old.”

*Question.*—“Where was Jacob the plaintiff here born?”

*Answer.*—“He was born on the stone-mill place, on the big tract, this side of the little bottom. The house was burned down that winter.”

*Ques.*—“Do you know of anything else that happened when the old man died? Have you any reason to give why you know it was twenty years ago last February? If so, state the reason.”

“Stop, witness!—do not answer that question yet,” said the defendant’s attorney.

“Will your honor allow us to inquire if this is not irregular; if it is usual or legitimate for a party to fortify the supposed impeachment of his witness before he is attacked?”

*Judge.*—“I think not; this would seem to be premature; perhaps it will come in on cross-examination.”

*Plaintiff’s Attorney.*—“But suppose the defendants decline a cross-examination?”

*Judge.*—“Then your fact is proved, and if they do not impeach your witness, his evidence will be conclusive; and if they do, then you can rebut by repeating this question.”

*Plaintiff’s Attorney.*—“I beg leave to except to this decision.”

*Judge.*—“I will note your exception. My present impression is that I am right; but I will take care that your case does not suffer by it. I suppose the defendants may now cross-examine the witness.”

*Defendants’ Attorney.*—“No, sir: we decline; his appearance is enough. No man present believes a word he says. I should like to know where he came from; out of what prison or almshouse they have scraped up an old vagabond like this.”

*Plaintiff’s Attorney.*—“Now, may it please the court, it is manifest that this case is to suffer, if no modification of your honor’s decision is made. If it is wrong, it cannot be corrected on error, perhaps, for two or three years, and then the plaintiff may have no witness.

“If it is correct, then we are at the mercy of the jury. For, however we have technically proved our case, the jury have the power to disbelieve the uncorroborated and unexplained

testimony of a single witness, an utter stranger to them, and the plaintiff is then without remedy.

“I do not cavil with your honor’s decision, but I respectfully ask you now to see that this peril shall not be thrown upon our path, and that the defendants shall be deprived of the power to shut out this explanation: and then, for lack of the solution, to repudiate, and charge the witness with infamy and perjury.

“I, therefore, beg leave to ask the court itself to support the source of this evidence, as your honor or the jury would inspect a bond upon which a slur was cast.

“Our witness is openly denounced, and, at first blush, condemned as a renegade, whom no one believes; let the court and jury scrutinize him.

“If it is so, then there is no harm done; if it is not so, let the truth come out. Certainly it would be unmanly to shut it out by a mere exception to the form of examination, and by a flat refusal of the defendants to cross-examine; and then to suffer the defendants, in mere wrath, to blast the witness upon naked suspicion.

“This is rank injustice: and I confidently call upon the court to see that my cause shall not suffer by it.”

*Judge.*—“I think this is fair.”

*Defendants’ Attorney.*—“Will the court suffer us to remark that the ground of our objection applies, we respectfully submit, to all inquiries for irrelevant matter, not for explanations of what the witness has said? That would be pertinent; but after new matter.

“For example: The supposed existence of the witness’s want of credibility.

“Now, suppose, sir, when the cause is closed, we should press upon the jury the danger, in any cause, to rely upon evidence so weak, unsatisfactory, uncertain, and uncorroborated as this is. This will not alter the rule; the jury will be bound to disregard our argument, and validate the evidence, if they believe it; or they might reject it, if it was ever so well sustained, and their verdict would be final.

“Sir, we deny that there is any justice without law; that the law is with us as you have held it; and we protest against the pernicious and alarming consequences of swerving from the straightforward path of duty to accommodate the supposed hardships of any cause.”

*Judge.*—“I do not think that the reasoning of the defendants’ counsel goes to the bottom of the point.

“He contends that no examination can be made for explanation of what the witness has said.

“I think we may go one step further. That the evidence of a witness is liable to the same inspection by the court and jury, to satisfy their consciences, as is a deed, a record, a book, or any other thing put in evidence.

“And we have a right to employ the most rigid scrutiny, to see that we are not imposed upon by forgeries and falsehoods on one side: and on the other side, that the evidence which, from a superficial and hasty examination at first view, may appear to be too weak and feeble, *really* has the elements of legitimate strength and certainty. I think there is no difference in the application of this rule as to evidence from the mouth of a witness, or that which is put in by a bond.

“We do not want anything the witness has said explained; there is no ambiguity in what he has said; it is all plain and intelligible. But we want to examine the integrity and true source of this evidence.

“Suppose it was a plain bond; we should not want it explained, it would speak for itself. In this case, it is a witness, and he speaks out a fact. We do not want the fact explained: it speaks for itself.

“But, perhaps, we may want to examine the validity of the source of the fact.

“If it was a bond, and the defendants should assert that the bond was a forgery, this would naturally excite suspicion, and the jury might examine the water date of the papermaker, to find if his date was before or after the date of the writing. Both have been done.

“Well, suppose the jury suspect the witness, and compare the witness’s time of old Mr. Widener’s death with the date he may give of any current event.

“If the dates correspond or disagree, this would go to confirm or weaken the source of the testimony; not to explain, but to test the evidence itself.

“The evidence may mislead, but the test cannot mislead.

“It is in this view that I hold the court bound to test the evidence, especially as the plaintiff challenges, and the defendants refuse to try the test, and avow their intention to make this objection.

"I will examine the witness myself."

*Ques.*—"Mr. Shaffer, how old are you?"

*Ans.*—"I was nineteen when the Blues went; that was six months before father died, and he has been dead twenty-and-a-half years; that makes me forty."

*Ques.*—"You look older than that."

*A.*—"Well, sir, I feel very old. It is a wonder I am alive, I have suffered so much. I was shot at the plains, and the bullet is here in my breast now."

"I have been ever since in the incurable ward till last winter Jacob took me up to Yonkers, where I have had beautiful quarters.

"He could do no better. He came every Sunday, if it did not rain, to see me; and always brought me something good to eat; and so we were alone in the world, as it were.

"But we felt strong: for we used to read the Bible, and pray; and this always kept us from drooping."

*Defendants' Attorney.*—"Does your honor think that these private exercises of the witness have anything to do with the issue before the court and jury?"

*Plaintiffs' Attorney.*—"I think, sir (to the court), they have very much to do with the credibility of the witness, and that I understand to be the object of the present inquiry."

*Defendants' Attorney.*—"Yes; but may it please the court, are the defendants' rights to be put in jeopardy by the sympathies sought to be invoked by the melancholy tale of this old pauper?"

*Judge.*—"My friend, it is in bad taste, I think, to refer to any man's poverty by way of reproach. The difficulty I have upon the trial of this case is to avoid the prejudice we all have, I suppose, against stale claims."

"But, if their delay in this case has been occasioned by unavoidable calamities, it becomes a case of commiseration, and not distrust.

"The door has been opened now too wide; it must not be closed until we have had this interesting vicissitude fully explained.

"It is one of a million that have happened during the Revolution."

"I hope so, sir," said a juror.

*Witness.*—"Judge, may I ask that man who just spoke if he is not the fuller's boy, Peter? I thought it was his voice.

“If it is he, he was going with the company; but the doctor said he was too sick with the ague.”

“Yes,” answered the juror, “my name is Peter Wright; I am the fuller’s boy. Why, Frederic, is that you? We thought you were all dead.”

*Witness.*—“Well, so they are all dead, Peter, but the child and me. Judge, shall I go on?”

*Judge.*—“Yes, go on, sir; take your own time; rest when you are tired, or your cough interrupts you. (To the crier.) Set a tumbler of water there for the witness. Go on, sir, and tell the whole story in your own way.”

*Witness.*—“Then I will begin, and tell it all; that will be best. I thought I was only to answer questions.

“Well, when my father, Frederick Shaffer, was sheriff, he raised the Blues, before I was born, for the French War; but it blowed over; and the company died off, and then father died; and mother, in two or three years, married again, Squire Jacob Widener, Jacob’s father; and when Jacob was about two years old, the English war come; and the Tories and refugees used to come up in the night, all the way from the Old Bottom, and rob and kill the women and children, and burn the barns and houses; for the men were almost all gone to the war.

“And mother got out the old muster-roll of the Blues, and none of the men were left but the squire; and he and mother said, ‘Let us fill up the roll with boys;’ and mother went all round, and told the women it would be no worse; to send the boys to them with warm clothes; that she would go, and stay with them to the last.

“And the boys come, and they made the squire captain, and me first lieutenant.

“There was seventy-three of us; and mother and the two babies made seventy-six; and they called us the seventy-sixers. And we all marched off to the sound of the bugle, and give it back to the refugees hard.

“We were three days going, and it took us a week; but we shot every scoundrel; cleared the Old Bottom for them, and did not lose a man.

“Thousands of our things they had stolen, we found, and brought back; horses, cows, silver spoons, clothing, and store-goods. We could not bring half back.

“We did not hurt a woman or child, and we left them full and plenty.

"We eame home to the mountain in triumph; staid a week; eneouraged the women; and mother and all of us started for the army.

"Our company was on a seout; and then the first hard knocks eame. It was just peep of day; we were all up.

"If we had been asleep, they would have killed us all, for they were thirteen hundred strong, and had nineteen cannon. But we flew to the bushes, and dodged them. Every bullet hit; we brought down two hundred and seventeen.

"They were seared to death, and yelled, and run like wild Indians. We sereeehed, too, and eashed them a mile or two through the woods.

"They thought we were a whole army; but it would not do to make a show; so, when we eome to the clear, we shouted, and fired a volley; and they kept on like wildfire.

"We eome back, spiked their guns, and had thousands of booty; but it was hard got. We lost thirty-one, and father was shot dead.

"I got a bullet in my side; and here it is now. This was on the twenty-seeond of February, twenty years ago last winter. I was made captain; but it was all over. We were sadly hurt and cut up.

"The weather was now cold; we went into winter quarters at Old Perth Amboy.

"The eamp-fever broke out, and we suffered dreadfully; all of us died but mother, and Jaeob here, and I. Our hospital was up stairs in the old red store, down under the hill, along side of the water opposite Biddle's Ferry, on Staten Island.

"At last mother took siek; she was worn down. She stood it out till the baby died; and then she seemed to droop like, and give up.

"The colonel eame every day to see us; he staid a good deal, and helped us to nurse mother all night. But she died; and the colonel and I led Jaeob here to the grave; and when it was filled up, he took Jaeob up in his arms, and kissed him; and told him not to ery so. He wiped his eyes with his poeket-handkerchief, and said, 'Here, my dear boy—keep it;' and the colonel kissed him again, and handed him to me, and gave him a guinea, and shook hands with us both, and said, 'God bless you!' And he went away erying, for he could not help it.

"And I never saw him again; for I was taken worse; and the invalids were all removed to New York. I got very ill;

while I was so low, I knowed nothing. They took us to the almshouse ; but we were warmer and better off there than in the barracks ; and so I did not inquire or stir it up ; for I expected to die.

“And in two or three years they bound Jakey to the milk-woman, and then I was lonesome.

“I wrote to the colonel at Philadelphia, to see if I could not get a pension ; and he wrote me back a very kind letter, and sent me a newspaper ; and said, in the letter, that no provision had yet been made for volunteers ; that he hoped there would be ; that he was doing all he could to get Congress or Pennsylvania to do something ; and that he would try to get a special act passed for our company.

“He said he had hundreds of revolutionary friends as bad off as me ; that he helped them in every way all he could ; and enclosed me a draft on a man in New York for ten dollars, which I got, and bought the boy some flannel, and woollen stockings, and an overcoat ; for he was weakly, and much exposed to the cold and the wet, feeding and milking the cows, and carrying milk.

“And I think it saved him ; for he got stronger after this ; so the boy growed up, and got free.

“And I thought he had had a hard time of it. I knew this tract was his father’s ; and I thought it was as good for him as another ; that the old mill and barn, and all the buildings, had been burnt down by the Tories ; for it seems we did not catch, at the big Bottom, that old cut-throat, Dick Watts, and his two wolf-boys ; for I heard, at Trenton, they come back, and burned up all the rest.”

“Yes, but I chased and shot all the seoundrels afterwards !” exclaimed Peter Wright, the juror.

*Witness.* — “Well, Peter, you served them blood-hounds right ; for I saw old Dick pull grandfather out of the window by the hair, and hold him, while his boys stabbed and stamped him to death ; and then they throwed him into the barn, while it was all a fire.

“Well, the colonel said, ‘God bless us !’ and we were blessed ; for the boy has lived to get this old homestead.

“The land is his now for sure, and if they have improved it, Mr. Duncan says, they will be allowed fair for that, if all is right.

"But I have not told near all yet; and I am very tired, I cough so.

"Won't the judge let Jakey take me out a little bit, and let somebody go with us; for certainly I am afraid of the Tories."

"Constable!" said the judge; "go along, no one will harm you, sir."

And if poor Captain Shaffer had been General Washington, the crowd could not have made him room to pass by, with sensations of more profound regard.

The tide had run down, and now there was a strong flood making back.

The court was then adjourned until 3 P. M.

And then a mournful respite was given to the painful excitement of the anxious and eager crowd.

Where now had gone all the dry and logical speculations of the defendants' counsel about abstract rules of practice, and the majesty of theoretical justice?

It so happened that sympathy lay in the right scale; but the abstraction, the right of the question, constituted no part of the preponderance.

It was impulse, prejudice, passion; in which law and reason took no part, except by forms, to give them appropriate and legal sanction.

What must have been the proud sensation of triumph which filled the throbbing bosom of this patriot colonel, on whom every eye fell, as the witness, with pure and artless simplicity, revealed the touching occasions of his humanity and benevolence!

The plaintiff and his witness were the only persons in that court room ignorant of the benignant and judicial presence of him who made these holy benefactions at their mother's grave.

Of this precious truth they were still in darkness; and for the whether or not they held the sacred trophies of that mournful day, as if by miracle, to ratify their solemn tragedy, eager and impatient speculation was now going wild.

No plodding learner ever found the literal hang of foreign speech; nor can the tongue or pen stir up, and kindle into white transparent heat, the holy fire that Heaven alone did light in every patriot's soul of '76.

Who e'er did see their eyes flash fire, their bosoms heave with wrath, and mark their clenched fists, and grinding, frothing

mouths, without a freezing shudder, as of their brutal wrongs they revelation made?

Or who in rapturous transports did not swell to hear their thrilling peals of eloquence, and glorious shouts of holy triumph, when, ever and anon, bright memory changed the drama of their burning souls from fire and death to liberty and life?

That eager, restless crowd, wrapt up with anxious hope and trembling fear, scattered and grouped about, and restless, bore the painful recess of the court.

Their numbers magnified; and with traditions black, and gloomy legends of rapine, fire, and murder, freshened up, and oft by turns most eloquently rehearsed, each did stare and gaze upon the other, in vacant wonder and bewildered awe.

No gluttony or bibbing then was there; but all was gloom and solemn waiting.

At length the court house bell shot off upon the impatient breeze its loud and cutting peals.

The court was opened; the house emphatically and literally packed; and all was breathless silence.

The jury was called, and the court directed the witness to proceed.

*Witness.*—“ Well, then, I told the boy all about it; and he saved up his wages, and come on here, and found out Mr. Duncan; who told him the troubles we should have, and the risk of our lives we should run, if it was not all kept quiet.

“ Mr. Duncan came to me at Yonkers, with the boy, and he staid there two or three days, to cross-question me as it were.

“ And we did not tell him about the handkerchief; nor the guinea; nor the newspaper, nor the colonel’s letter. For, after he said there was danger, I was afraid they would assassinate us.

“ I had been so crushed down, I had lost all my heart, and was afraid of everything; but I told him all the rest; and I kept these things to myself, because I have been told that these old Tories and their children are secretly scattered all over yet; and I know they will steal and murder, just as soon now as they did then.

“ Like enough some of them are sneaking about here now; but the boy and me are armed, and ready for them.

“ Well, I have told all; and now if I do not show the newspaper, nor the colonel’s letter, nor the handkerchief, nor the

gold bit, this gentleman here, perhaps, would say I was really scraped up, and that I had made the story; but it is all true.

"Well, here is the newspaper. It come with this cover on it; and the handwriting of the direction is the same as the colonel's letter.

"The paper has in it the Colonel's report about his detachment, published by order of Congress."

*Judge.*—"Hand it up to me, Captain Shaffer, if you please."

*Witness.*—"Now you said, Judge, I should tell my story in my own way; I have something more to say; and, if I give you the paper now, you will begin to look at it, and you won't listen so attentively to the rest."

*Judge.*—"Go on, captain. Indeed you shall have your own way, and you shall not be interrupted again. I beg your pardon, sir; go on."

*Witness.*—"Well, that is what the newspaper says; and it gives all our names, and mother's death; and it has the Philadelphia post-mark on it, and the date.

"And there is the colonel's letter, that has the same post-mark, and the date on it.

"Now, the colonel is not here, or he would prove his handwriting; but I will swear to it; for he signed the Deelaration of Independence; and when we went through Philadelphia, we all went and saw that parchment, and I am sure it is the same signature.

"And there is enough, I suppose, too, that knows it.

"If I had known Peter was here, I would have asked him what had gone of the colonel."

*Peter Wright.*—"Never mind, Frederick; you go on; you will find out pretty soon where the colonel is, I guess."

*Witness.*—"I wish he was here to snub that man for abusing me so. I never did anything bad; and all the time I was in the almshouse, and I could not help that, nobody ever called me such hard names.

"But I do not care. Jakey will take care of me now; and I shall not die in the almshouse, I hope.

"But there is the writing of the colonel; and he did sign the Deelaration, and worked hard to get it signed by enough; and if it had not been signed then, maybe it would never have been signed, and we never should have been free."

*Judge.*—"No, captain, no; it never would have been signed."

*Witness.*—“Well, father Widener was there; and he and several took a great part for it; and when he came home he told us all so. He said, when it come to the pinch, no one would believe how some of the stoutest of them flinched.

“That there was a time there when it was all in the hands of a mighty few; and the rest said, they hoped the other man would not come.

“But he did come before they met the next morning; and the colonel had him brought; and he and the rest stuck to it like fire until it was signed by enough.

“But oh, Heavenly Father! what the revolution has cost! The sorrow and murder nobody knows.

“If all this is forgot, God will smite and forsake the people for their ingratitude.

“Well, I said I was done, and I must not trespass upon the kindness of the court.

“Somehow, I think I have heard the colonel’s voice;—the judge’s voice reminds me of his voice. But I am not sure; I never heard him speak much, but in whispers, when mother was sick, and at her grave.

“I suppose he is not here; if he was, it would be a God-send.

“Well, here is the newspaper, and the cover to it; and here is the colonel’s letter, and his handkerchief, with his name on it, the same signature; and the gold bit, which I punched a hole through, and tied to the corner of the handkerchief.

“I have kept them all safe.

“There, Mr. Duncan. I beg your pardon for not telling you all at Yonkers; if you think the reason I give is not good enough.

“*You* know what to do with these things; I suppose they will all be handed to the judge; and like enough he, and Peter too, knows the colonel’s handwriting.”

*Judge.*—“Yes, yes; I can see it from here. But, Mr. Duncan, hand them all up to me, if you please.

“This is surely a most wonderful interposition of Divine Providence. I am overwhelmed with amazement.”

These sacred papers, and the triumphant trophies from the last coffin of the Mountain Blues, were handed to the judge, who gazed in awe, as, one by one, he ratified them all, by solemn pause, and mournful bowing of his venerable head.

The letter and the Report by Congress were then read. All

was put in evidence, and received the most searching and general examination.

Scrutiny was baffled, and the doubting subdued; and all alike were overpowered.

A silent, breathless pause ensued; and then, in under tones of voice, the parties, jury, and clerk briefly communed together, inaudible to the bench and buzzing crowd.

Meantime, the judge had risen from his seat, and stood at a window, mutely looking out, to soothe and mellow down the conflict passions of his swelling soul.

He paused awhile, and then he faced the eager audience, and said:—

“I am not so proud as to disguise the effects upon my heart produced by the thrilling disclosures which have just been made.

“They have wrought up impulses that altogether unman me. I will not deny that I am, at this time, wholly unfit for the further trial of this cause; and I think the jury are under the same influence. I will, therefore, adjourn the court over.”

“To try this ease,” was exclaimed.

“What was it that was said?” continued the judge; “did any one repeat my words?”

“Yes,” said Peter Wright; “it was I. I did not do so to interrupt the court; but I thought there would be no harm in my informing your honor, before the crier began to proclaim the adjournment (for it will be impracticable to stop him), that while you were vainly attempting to stifle the involuntary and honorable emotions of your bosom at the window, the defendants honestly caved in; for no man but a Tory, or a refugee, could stand this resurrection of the quick and dead, both together: and, by their consent, our verdict has been recorded for the plaintiff.”

Upon which the court was adjourned.

The crowd made way; and the sheriff’s long cortège of constables, with long poles, with the arms of Pennsylvania emblazoned with blue and gold upon them, escorted this tall, erect, and venerable apostle of the American Revolution, with cocked hat, powdered wig, and bag, long broad-tailed black cloth coat, with ruffled eravat, bosom, and cuffs, black satin vest and breeches, black silk stockings, and shoes with broad gold buckles, and a long gold-headed cane, from the court-house to his hotel.

As this immense concourse slowly and solemnly moved along, all hearts throbbed with painful sympathy and joy.

Proud humility, and thankfulness to Heaven, brightly beamed upon the noble face of him whose purity of life and constant works of public good proclaimed him modeled in the holy semblance of Almighty God.

“Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, it is stated that nine were born in Massachusetts, eight in Virginia, five in Maryland, four in Connecticut, four in New Jersey, four in Pennsylvania, four in South Carolina, three in New York, three in Delaware, two in Rhode Island, one in Maine, three in Ireland, two in England, two in Scotland, and one in Wales.

“Twenty-one were attorneys, ten merchants, four physicians, three farmers, one clergyman, one printer, and sixteen were men of fortune.

“Eight were graduates of Harvard College, four of Yale, three of New Jersey, two of Philadelphia, two of William and Mary, three of Cambridge (England), two of Edinburgh, and one of St. Omer’s.

“At the time of their deaths, five were over ninety years of age, seven between eighty and ninety, eleven between seventy and eighty, twelve between sixty and seventy, eleven between fifty and sixty, seven between forty and fifty, one died at the age of twenty-seven, and the age of two is uncertain.

“At the time of signing the Declaration, the average age of the members was forty-four years. They lived to the average age of more than sixty-five years and ten months. The youngest member was Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, who was in his twenty-seventh year. He lived to the age of fifty-one. The next youngest member was Thomas Lynch, of the same State, who was also in his twenty-seventh year. He was east away at sea in the fall of 1776.

“Benjamin Franklin was the oldest member. He was in his seventy-first year when he signed the Declaration. He lived to 1790, and survived sixteen of his younger brethren. Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island, the next oldest member, was born in 1707, and died in 1785.

“Charles Carroll attained the greatest age, dying in his ninety-sixth year. William Ellery, of Rhode Island, died in his ninety-third year, and John Adams in his ninety-first.

“He was the last survivor. ‘*They are now all dead.*’”

“We have been particularly requested to republish the following letter from the late Governor M’KEAN, written but a short time previous to his decease.”—*Freeman’s Journal.*

## “DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

“PHILADELPHIA, June 16th, 1817.

“MESSRS. WM. M’CORKLE AND SON:

“GENTLEMEN—Several applications having been recently made to me, to state the errors which I had observed, and often mentioned, in the publications of the names of the members of the Continental Congress, who declared in favor of the Independence of the United States, on the 4th of July, 1776—I have not, at present, sufficient health and leisure to reply severally to each application. There can be but one correct statement of facts: One public statement, therefore, through the press, will serve the purpose of the gentlemen who have made the request, and may also give satisfaction to the minds of others, who have turned their thoughts upon the subject. If I am correct in my statement, it may be of use to future historians; if not, my errors can be readily corrected. I wish, therefore, by means of your paper, to make the following statement of the facts within my knowledge, relative to the subject of inquiry:—

“On Monday, the first day of July, 1776, the arguments in Congress for and against the Declaration of Independence, having been exhausted, and the measure fully considered, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole. The question was put by the chairman, and all the *States* voted in the affirmative, except Pennsylvania, which was in the negative, and Delaware, which was equally divided. Pennsylvania, at that time, had seven members, viz., John Morton, Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Thomas Willing, and Charles Humphreys. All were present on the first of July, and the three first named voted for the Declaration of Independence, the remaining four against it. The State of Delaware had three members, Cæsar Rodney, George Read, and myself. George Read and I were present. I voted for it, George Read against it. When the President resumed the chair, the chairman of the committee of the whole made his report, which was not acted upon until Thursday, the

4th of July. In the mean time, I had written to press the attention of Cæsar Rodney, the third delegate from Delaware, who appeared early on that day at the State House, in this place. When the Congress assembled, the question was put on the report of the committee of the whole, and approved by every *State*. Of the members from Pennsylvania, the three first, as before, voted in the affirmative, and the two last in the negative. John Dickinson and Robert Morris were not present, and did not take their seats on that day. Cæsar Rodney, for the State of Delaware, voted with me in the affirmative, and George Read in the negative.

“Some months after this, I saw printed publications of the names of those gentlemen who had, as it was said, voted for the Declaration of Independence, and observed that my own name was omitted. I was not a little surprised at, nor could I account for the omission; because I knew that, on the 24th of June preceding, the deputies from the committees of Pennsylvania, assembled in provincial conference, held at the Carpenters’ Hall, Philadelphia, which had met on the 18th, and chosen me their President, had unanimously declared their willingness to concur in a vote of the Congress, declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, and had ordered their declaration to be signed, and their President to deliver it into Congress, which accordingly I did the day following. I knew also, that a regiment of associates, of which I was colonel, had, at the end of May before, unanimously made the same declaration. These circumstances were mentioned, at the time, to gentlemen of my acquaintance. The error remained uncorrected till the year 1781, when I was appointed to publish the laws of Pennsylvania, to which I prefixed the Declaration of Independence, and inserted my own name, with the names of my colleagues. Afterwards, in 1797, when the late A. J. Dallas, Esq., then Secretary of the Commonwealth, was appointed to publish an edition of the laws, on comparing the names published as subscribed to the Declaration of Independence, he observed a variance, and the omission, in some publications, of the name of Thomas M’Kean. Having procured a certificate from the Secretary of State, that the name of Thomas M’Kean was affixed in his own handwriting to the original Declaration of Independence, though omitted in the journals of Congress, Mr. Dallas then requested an explanation of this circumstance from me; and from my answer to this

application, the following extracts were taken and published by Mr. Dallas, in the appendix to the first volume of his edition of the laws:—

“‘ For several years past I have been taught to think less unfavorably of skepticism than formerly. So many things have been misrepresented, misstated, and erroneously printed (with seeming authenticity) under my own eye, as in my opinion to render those who doubt of everything not altogether inexcusable. The publication of the Declaration of Independence on the 4th day of July, 1776, as printed in the journals of Congress, vol. ii. p. 242, &c., and also in the acts of most public bodies since, so far as respects the names of the delegates or deputies who made that declaration, has led to the above reflection. By the printed publications referred to, it would appear as if the fifty-five gentlemen, whose names are there printed, and none other, were on that day personally present in Congress, and assenting to the declaration; whereas the truth is otherwise. The following gentlemen were not members on the fourth of July, 1776, namely, Mathew Thornton, Benjamin Rush, George Clymer, James Smyth, George Taylor, and George Ross, Esquires. The five last named were not chosen delegates until the twentieth of that month; the first, not until the twelfth day of September following, nor did he take his seat in Congress until the fourth of November, which was four months after. The journals of Congress, vol. ii., pages 277 and 442, as well as those of the Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania, page 53, and of the General Assembly of New Hampshire, establish these facts. Although the six gentlemen named had been very active in the Ameriean cause, and some of them, to my own knowledge, warmly in favor of its independence previous to the day on which it was declared, yet I personally know that none of them were in Congress on that day.

“‘ Modesty should not rob any man of his just honor, when by that honor his modesty cannot be offended. My name is not in the printed journals of Congress, as a party to the Declaration of Independence, and this, like an error in the first concoction, has vitiated most of the subsequent publications, and yet the fact is, that I was then a member of Congress for the State of Delaware, was personally present in Congress, and voted in favor of Independenee on the fourth day of July, 1776, and

signed the Declaration, after it had been engrossed on parchment, where my name, in my own hand-writing, still appears. Henry Wisner, of the State of New York, was also in Congress, and voted for independence.

“I do not know how the misstatement in the printed journals has happened. The manuscript *public* journal has no names annexed to the Declaration of Independence, nor has the *secret* journal; but it appears by the latter that, on the nineteenth day of July, 1776, the Congress directed that it should be engrossed on parchment, and signed by *every member*, and that it was so produced on the second of August, and signed. This is interlined in the secret journal, in the hand-writing of Charles Thompson, Esq., the Secretary. The present Secretary of State of the United States, and myself, have lately inspected the journals, and seen this. The journal was first printed by Mr. John Dunlap in 1778, and probably copies, with the names then signed to it, were printed in August, 1776, and that Mr. Dunlap printed the names from one of *them*.’

“Your most obedient servant,  
“THOS. M’KEAN.”

Every State, except Pennsylvania and Delaware, had voted for the declaration. It was deemed important that the final vote should be unanimous. Mr. M’Kean, without delay, despatched a special messenger, at his private expense, for Mr. Rodney, who was in Delaware, and who reached the door of the State House in his boots and spurs, as Congress was opening on the morning of the fourth. He and Mr. M’Kean entered the hall in haste, and without time or opportunity to exchange a word about the thrilling subject of their thoughts, the proceedings began; the great question was put. Mr. M’Kean and Mr. Rodney answered for Delaware, and voted in the affirmative, which was two against Mr. Read; two of the disagreeing members from Pennsylvania were absent, and that State also voted in the affirmative. So that, by the resolution and perseverance of Mr. M’Kean, the final vote of *all* the provinces were unanimously cast in favor of the Declaration of Independence; an event of the most obvious and eminent importance to the Revolution.

In November term, 1765, and February term, 1766, Judge M’Kean ordered the officers of the court to proceed with their duties *upon unstamped paper*. This was the first order of the

kind made by any court in the colonies. He was a member of the Continental Congress, from the State of Delaware, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania at the same time. Both States claimed him. He was the only member who, without interruptions, filled his seat in Congress from its opening in 1774 until after the peace in 1783. During this period of time, he was President of Congress; colonel of a regiment of volunteers under Washington, for one campaign; Chief Justice of Pennsylvania for twenty-four years, and afterwards Governor of that State for eight years.

He died in Philadelphia, June 24th, 1817, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, loaded with honors.

Posterity will cherish his memory, as one of the most able and useful fathers of a mighty republic.

*Cancia mens recti fameæ mendacia ridet.*

## CHAPTER XI.

### PROPENSITIES.

Blood—Birth—United States—Foreigners—Religion — Pagans — Christians—The sober and frantic—But few honest—Bear the whole load of society—The rest complain—Lazy—Rude—Cheat—Corporations—Hypocrisy—Church—Revolutions—Illuminations—Office—Taverns—Gaming—Fire companies—Lynching—Mobs—Riots—Hatred—Extract—Legislative votes—Banks—Bankrupts—Orders—Labor—Extracts—Debtors—Cheating—Forgery—Fraud—Embezzlement—Judges—Office hunters—Property—Character—Rabble—True distinctions—St. Augustine's church—Depravity—Motives—Changes.

IT has already been stated that education will not change or purify the natural depravities of the human heart, and that they are inherent and radical, and secretly constitute the permanent and invincible propensities of our nature.

No evidence has been so conclusive of these facts as the total failure of the extraordinary facilities and encouragement furnished by the United States for the moral and mental improvement of the millions of emigrants to this country. Fortunately for Europe, and unfortunately for us, they are of the worst class. This is acknowledged by all respectable foreigners. Their offspring, whatever may have been their opportunities for improvement, constantly betray the bad blood and degraded breed of their ancestors.

When these inherent elements of human nature are irritated or provoked, they dart out like an adder, in defiance of all the cautions and constraints of education, which will no more restrain or destroy them than a mountain piled upon a diamond will extinguish its inherent powers of brightness. A strong evidence of these general facts, and also of the truth of religion, is, that religion or conscience is a primary and overruling impulse; that it is most quick and lively with the wicked: and that it involuntarily starts up with, and rebukes all sinful emotions of the heart. It is the natural impulse of sin confronted by the pricks

of consciencee. This conflict is, of course, more frequent and pungent with the bad than the good.

Hence so much hypocrisy and so many agonies in times of peril, and at death by the wicked.

Every human being aeknowledges some sort of religion, some Supreme Cause, and, however hardened, seerely dreads the horrors of hereafter. The pagans make fervent devotions; infidels believe in an overruling spirit; and atheists aeknowledge a Divine essencee.

They all eroueh before the inward and seeret rebukes of the consciencee. It may be baffled and defied, but it cannot be extinguished.

The forms and outward professions employed by men to demonstrate the sineerity of their faith and worship, are as various as their natures, and range from the silent spirit meditation of the Quaker, up to the furious ranting of the fanatie. Perhaps a quiet and solemn communion with the soul is a stronger proof of true religion than vanity, ostentation, or penance, and eastigation or boisterous vociferations of praise and worship.

#### RELIGION.

“If religion were a thing altogether external, then all the appliances and means of operation whieh are set in motion would be of some avail. If it consisted wholly in going to meeting, in preaching or praying, or any sort of excitement, eommonly so ealled, why then it would be well to multiply serviees without number. But I fear that the tendeney of such things is, in general, to abstraet the attention of mankind from its essential eharaeter, its vital priniciples and habits, and fix it on a substitute, whieh is eomparatively of little value.

“After not a short experienee, I am strongly eonvined that all extraordinary means of promoting religion, vulgarly ealled, are useless; that the tendeney of extraordinary professions is to make men hypocrites: and, that anything external, beyond the regular observanee of the Lord’s Day and the serviees, and punetual support of religious instruuction and worship, is of doubtful expediency.”—(REV. HENRY COLMAN’S *European Life and Manners*, vol. i., pages 150 and 151.)

Yet, all pretensions and professions of religion should be treated with respect, and never made an objeet of derision. They evidence at least an effort to do right; and while persons

are thus occupied, pure and conservative inspirations are more likely to be produced than when engaged in open sin.

These mental exercises are often entertained too by persons who are imbued with a solemn sense of religious fervor, and who are grievously disturbed by some besetting sin, against the power of which in this way they wrestle, and struggle, and help to make resistance, and in which efforts they find most sympathy and comfort, amidst the active and refreshing excitements of public worship. A proper medium upon this subject should therefore be maintained.

It too often happens that such persons have not accorded to them sufficient credit for their good intentions; and, indeed, the world, by way of excuse for its aversion to sacred things, is prone to entertain feelings and language of uncharitableness towards everything which concerns religion.

Great allowances are to be made too for differences of opinion; temperament, education, associations, and habits. And if, in the main, there is evidence of an inclination to lead a religious life, there can be no excuse for withholding a cordial and true respect for it.

There is true religion. There are saints on earth as well as in heaven. We should beware how we insult them, lest we defy Heaven.

Religion should be largely and generously encouraged. There is so much wickedness, and the evil which comes from it so extensive, that the bare appearance of good is refreshing and delightful; and, perhaps, the time may come when we shall learn, to our great sorrow and bitter anguish, that the derision of religion and its followers, by reason of their nonconformity to our notions of good taste and sincerity, is blasphemy; much more should we be careful not to incur the terrible denunciation which has recorded in letters of wrath that, "*The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God.*" If it was not for the righteous, the fate of Sodom might again fall upon the earth.

The honest portions of society sustain a heavy task, and are exposed to perpetual alarm and peril.

Their numbers in proportion to the whole are few; and the entire fabric of support and order rests on them.

It is their productive labor that maintains, and their example and authority that restrain, the whole mass.

They find subsistence for the millions of helpless and wicked who contribute nothing by mind or means for the public weal,

but, on the contrary, embarrass and disturb society by treachery and fraud.

They profess the virtues, and practise all the vices of man.

They contribute nothing to the common stock; and constantly derange and disturb the public peace.

Every man, who enjoys the advantage of a comfortable home, a good character, and the means of independence, becomes an object of envy, jealousy, and hatred, by those who are lazy and wicked, and whose predominating purpose is to bring everything down to their own level.

These are the rank and dangerous aristocrats of the United States; they are the men who have no respect for the feelings, the characters, or the rights of others.

They insult virtue, deride talents and learning.

They get up plots for frauds and gambling, in lotteries, corporations, monopolies, politics, and elections; they make the riots and fires, and fill the prisons.

Their predominating spirit is for evil, and the natural inclination of man's passions incites, and the example of the world encourages to wickedness.

#### IT IS CALLED HUMAN DEPRAVITY.

Some are inherent and irreclaimably depraved, restrained by nothing but interest and cowardice; some have glimmerings of moral light, but never obtain settled views of propriety; some are not favored with virtuous resolutions till they are too old for the temptations of sin, and still fewer are upon principle and choice independently pure.

It requires self-government and firmness in virtue, a large share of mental vigor and divine assistance, seldom, if ever, attained under the age of fifty years, for rigid honesty.

The propensities also involve inclination for rudeness and severity of deportment, a sort of haughty insolence of manner and speech where there is no interest to consult; and a readiness to cringe and fawn if any advantage is to be gained by it.

The instances are very rare of men or women whose discrimination and charity, self-esteem and judgment, are sufficiently strong to maintain a steady course of complaisant and dignified deportment towards every one they meet.

This is a perfection of character which exclusively belongs to strength of intellect and lofty independence; it cannot be imitated; it has no condescension or familiarity; it is mild, firm, elevated, and benevolent, and more strongly foreshadows

the undefinable image of the Almighty in man than any other attribute of the human character.

There is too little kindness in the natural impulses of grown-up men; they are apt to be envious, jealous, suspicious, sly, and selfish; always very much pleased with themselves, but not kind or obliging to each other; they are haughty and dogmatical to their contemporaries and equals; love to talk incessantly of themselves; boasting, contradicting, blustering, abusing, and fighting; their compacts and associations are generally formed to maintain and carry out these propensities; hence they form fishing, boating, free and easy clubs, and fire companies; meet each other at billiard and gaming rooms, under the pretext of sociable and harmless intercourse, but really to obtain encouragement for the indulgence of their brutal propensities; and from the force of associations, to swell the power of conflict in party strife, or to obtain encouragement and countenance for coarse, obscene, and profane conversation, drunkenness, and gluttony.

They prefer to spend their time amidst the spit and smoke, the disgusting, degrading, and promiscuous gatherings at bar-rooms, oyster-cellars, and other rum-holes; about fire-plugs, engine-houses, and brothels; leaving at home anxious fathers, pious mothers, sisters, wives, and innocent children; and return to them debauched, polluted, and debased; obliging their friends and families to suffer these coarse and unmitigated wrongs in mournful silence.

The rush made into the degrading employment of dram-selling can only be accounted for in a preference for noise, filth, bad company, and gambling, certainly not for idleness and want of larger capital, for many other occupations suit even laziness and short means.

There is no more rent, capital, or labor required for an apothecary, tin, crockery, tailor, hat or shoe shop, and numerous other similar in-door and light employments, than for a groggeries. In all these there are peace, order, and respectability, with a chance to improve and rise, if there is a wish for it; with the other there are noise, filth, brutality, and open or secret gambling. No grog-seller ever obtained the respect of virtuous persons.

Their constant employment and associations are with drunkards. There is no room or opportunities afforded for mental and moral improvement; no such man or his family can ever rise, however civil and harmless. There is a dead weight upon them.

Whenever, therefore, a man is seen in this business, or any low employment as a matter of choice, he should be marked as

radieally brutal in his propensities, and if these grog-venders are traeed back to boyhood, they will all be found to have been profane, lazy, and rebellious at home, and ruffians in the street.

*“Mischief of Public-houses.—The increase of public-houses is more ruinous to the lowest orders of society than all other evils put together.* The depravity of morals, and the frequent distress of poor families, if traeed to their true souree, would generally be found to originate in the public-house. On the contrary, where there is not such a house in the parish (and some such parishes there still are, though in distant counties), the wife and children of the laborer, generally speaking, enjoy happiness, compared with those where many public-houses are seen. They are also less disposed to deceive and pilfer; are better clothed, more cleanly in their persons, and agreeable in their manners.

*“The laborers of this county are ruined in morals and constitution by the public-houses.* It is a general rule, that the higher their wages, the less they carry home, and consequently, the greater is the wretchedness of themselves and their families. Comforts in a cottage are mostly found where the man’s wages are low, at least so low as to require him to labor six days in every week. For instance, a good workman, at nine shillings per week, if advanced to twelve, will spend a day in the week at the alehouse, which reduees his labor to five days or ten shillings; and as he will spend two shillings in the public-house, it leaves but eight for his family; which is one less than they had when he earned only nine shillings.

“If by any means he be put into a situation of earning eighteen shillings in six days, he will get drunk on Sunday and Monday, and go to his work stupid on Tuesday; and, should he be a mechanical journeyman of some genius who by constant labor could earn twenty-four shillings or thirty shillings per week, as some of them can, he will be drunk half the week, insolent to his employer, and to every person about him.

“If his master has business in hand that requires particular dispatch, he will then, more than at any other time, be absent from his work, and his wife and children will experience the extreme of hunger, rags, and cold.

“The low *inns on the sides of the turnpike roads* are, in general, receiving-houses for the corn, hay, straw, poultry, eggs, &c., which the farmers’ men pilfer from their master.

“Many small country villages can date the commencement of poor-rates from the introduction of public-houses, which cor-

rupt the morals, impair the health, impoverish and reduce the poor to the greatest penury and distress; 'they also encourage idleness, promote begging and pilfering, and are the remote causes of murders and executions more or less every year.' Patriotism may make the most fanciful designs, and liberality support institutions of the highest expense, for 'bettering the condition of the poor;' and when these friends of mankind are nearly on the point of persuading themselves that 'poverty shall sigh no more,' some fiend will open a public-house among the persons apparently rescued from distress; this will undo in two or three years all the good that the best men could bring about in twenty."—MIDDLETON'S *Survey of Middlesex*, p. 628.

With those of humble capacity, wickedness is not so pernicious; the sagacity and conventional precautions of society guard against them; but, with the intellectual and educated, whose policy and interest lie with the respectable and affluent portions of society, professions of virtue, everywhere and with all men in all times, have been artfully blended with crime.

This recital embraces a twofold view of human depravity: 1. The wilful propensity to do things obnoxious and wrong in themselves; and 2, a propensity in the perpetrator to hate and persecute those whose example reprobates his conduct, and thereby increases the irritated exercises of his guilty conscience.

This is a point of important moral inquiry. It cannot be too closely examined nor too freely discussed; perhaps it involves all the secret and hidden sources of bad actions. Evil does not come from accidental causes; chance favors right, and not wrong.

Chance is the operation of wise and general rules, ordained by Supreme wisdom; and unless it is diverted in its course by wickedness, its fruits are wholesome.

Depravity prevails with all its degrees and capacities of power, from the gentlest impulses of sin up to its full strength over every grade of mind, intellect, refinement, and station; from the slightest leaning towards falsehood, prevarication, and trick, to daring perpetrations; from the timid, nervous, and shy, to the bold and audacious.

The temper is restrained by nothing but cowardice. There is no natural kindness or Christian charity that will pass by or forget a wrong.

The spirit of resentment rankles in the heart through life with concealed and increasing violence. The American Revolution furnished numerous instances of heartless and brutal revenge for insignificant grudges, and the most trifling and accidental affronts to the self-pride of those whose power of indulgence was now unrestrained by fear.

There is no charity, no consideration, no liberality or benevolence with man, but all is deep settled self-will.

“The hidden and awful wisdom which apportions the destinies of man is pleased so to humiliate and cast down the tender, good, and wise; and to set up the selfish, the foolish, and the wicked; oh, be humble in prosperity, be gentle with those who are less lucky, if not more deserving!

“Think what right have you to be scornful, whose virtue is a deficiency of temptation, whose success may be a chance, whose rank may be an ancestor’s accident, and whose prosperity perhaps may be a satire of fortune.

“Which of us can point out a true gentleman, whose aims are generous and just, whose truth is constant and elevated, whose want of manners makes him simple, and who can look the world honestly in the face with an equal, manly sympathy for the great and the small?”—THACKARAY.

The propensities here recited cry aloud that “*all men were created equal.*” But

“Strange is it, that our bloods,  
Of color, weight, and heat, poured all together,  
Would quite confound distinction, yet stand off  
In differences so mighty.”

“From lowest place when virtuous things proceed,  
The place is dignified by the doer’s deed:  
Where great additions swell, and virtue none,  
It is a dropsied honor; good alone  
Is good, without a name: vileness is so:  
The property by what it is should go,  
Not by the title.”

—“Honors best thrive,  
When rather from our acts we them derive  
Than our fore-goers: the mere world’s a slave,  
Debauched on every tomb; on every grave,  
A lying trophy, and as oft is dumb,  
Where dust, and damn’d oblivion, is the tomb  
Of honored bones indeed.”

(*All’s Well that Ends Well*, Act ii., S. 3.)

But still this howling rabble roar—

“ Raise me this beggar, and denude that lord ;  
The senator shall bear contempt hereditary,  
The beggar native honor.”

“ Matrons, turn incontinent !

Obedience fail in children ! slaves and fools  
Pluck the grave wrinkled senate from the bench,  
And minister in their steads ! to common sewers  
Convert o’ the instant green virginity !  
Do’t in your parents’ eyes ! Bankrupts, hold fast ;  
Rather than render back, out with your knives,  
And cut your trusters’ throats ! bound servants, steal !  
Large-handed robbers your grave masters are,  
And pill by law ! maid, to thy master’s bed ;  
Thy mistress is o’ the brothel ! son of sixteen,  
Pluck the lined crutch from the old limping sire,  
With it beat out his brains ! piety, and fear,  
Religion to the gods, peace, justice, trith,  
Domestic awe, night-rest, and neighborhood,  
Instruction, manners, mysteries, and trades,  
Degrees, observances, customs, and laws,  
Decline to your confounding contraries,  
And yet confusion live ! Plagues, incident to men,  
Cripple our senators, that their limbs may halt  
As lamely as their manners ! lust and liberty,  
Creep in the minds and marrow of our youth ;  
That ’gainst the stream of virtue they may strive,  
And drown themselves in riot ! itches, blains,  
Sow all the Athenian bosoms ; and their crop  
Be general leprosy ! breath infect breath,  
That their society, as their friendship, may  
Be merely poison ! Nothing I’ll bear from thee  
But nakedness, thou détestable town !”

(*Timon of Athens*, Act iv.)

In March, 1850, a bill was reported in the Legislature of Pennsylvania for the establishment of a new system of banking ; one of its clauses provided that no person should act as director, president, cashier, or officer of any bank who had ever taken the benefit of a bankrupt or insolvent law, or who at the time was indebted to any person whatever. The very general approbation with which this precaution was received by the public was soon hushed by a motion instantly adopted by a large majority to strike it out.

Most of the banks and insurance offices are got up for the express accommodation of brokers, insolvent and bankrupt jobbers who have failed in business repeatedly, and, finally, when their credit and cunning will no longer enable them to

carry on hazardous adventures, and live in extravagance off of the public, have recourse to this genteel mode for a permanent, lucrative, and lounging retirement from the blustering cares of the world.

The ostensible objects of these institutions are plausibly and secretly urged upon the sinister feelings of the legislature, who are coaxed and bargained with, and when the impudent and pernicious monopoly is organized, it is found to be the creation of some dozens of unprincipled, broken-down rogues, who have conspired together to obtain a legal sanction for the establishment of a moneyed corporation to accommodate themselves; and that some profligate bankrupt, whose indiscretion and extravagance have rendered him wholly unfit for the honest pursuits of commerce, is put at its head, in order that they may have undisturbed control of the capital, the issues, and the deposits, for the purposes of usury and stock-jobbing.

A legal investigation, some time since, disclosed peculations in one of these sinks of infamous corruption, by which twenty millions of money had been secretly and fraudulently embezzled by five of its penniless officers, upon spurious hypothecations, not one cent of which was ever recovered, and the only record of which was in pencil mark upon a single sheet of paper, accidentally discovered, two years after the explosion of the bank, amongst a pile of rubbish in the corner of a closet.

A similar disclosure was made of another set of polished and well-fed scoundrels, who complacently forged certificates of stocks and loans to the amount of several millions, for a series of years, for any amount, without stint, record, objection, or restraint, as the cupidity and felonious impulses of these official accomplices were excited.

These are frauds of daily occurrence; they are never exposed except by accident, and always hushed up, and passed over when they are detected.

No instance, perhaps, can be named in which these institutions originate with or are conducted by honest and disinterested men.

They obtain the votes, and keep control of the elections; their objects and practical operations are for private accommodation and personal indulgence, and not for the general good; to furnish sly rogues and plausible hypocrites with the means of monopoly, extortion, and plunder, and not to encourage honest labor and useful enterprise.

The vote of the legislature referred to was not prompted by feelings of compassion for the unfortunate poor man; patient industry and sound discretion very seldom fail in business, unless from fire or tempest, or some unavoidable calamity.

But the vote in question was secretly influenced by private and wicked sympathies for rogues, which those who thus voted would have been ashamed to avow; the subterfuge under which they acted was benevolence. But the real motive by which they were governed was a selfish leaning in favor of sloth, swindling, and fraud. The honest farmers and mechanics do not ask foregathered monopolies. They hate them.

There is not a moneyed monopoly in any State in the Union that was not got up under the most solemn pretensions of public good, but really with the covert design of private use.

The Farmers', Manufacturers', Lumbermen's, Butchers', and Drovers' Banks, ostensibly incorporated for these industrial classes, never have directors from or grant loans to these meritorious classes, unless it be to those of them who are overtly engaged in these pursuits, but really with some other object in view.

These institutions immediately fall into the hands of brokers, jobbers, shavers, and polished rogues.

It is in the fair and honest recognition, and friendly and frank reciprocation, of the proper distinctions amongst men, that society finds its capacities for cohesion and duration.

All orders and degrees of mind, education, manners, morals, conditions, and employment have their respective and appropriate spheres of existence and action, and nothing but jargon and discord can come from their promiseuous mixture. The demand for agrarianizing property is as absurd as the attempt to level the social, moral, and mental condition of men.

They are established and secured by their relative and reciprocal dependence on each other. What would be the condition of the rich, and the poor, both, if property was divided upon the social system, from time to time, so as to keep the whole mass equal, but the ultimate consumption of all the elements of subsistence; and what moral light, protection, or safety would the helpless and the ignorant have, if all human mind and knowledge were degraded down to the level of the vulgar, the ignorant, and the infamous?

To obtain the necessary supplies for animal subsistence, requires industry, labor, forecast, and discretion; every one in

health, if he chooses, may find employment, and if he faithfully attends to his business and to his home, with the period required for repose, his whole time will be occupied, and thus he will be kept out of the way of temptation and bad company.

This appropriate employment of life, so repugnant to the lazy and the wicked, is a blessing in disguise, ordained by the wisdom and mercy of Heaven for the peace and security of man ; and it is the laboring, productive, and virtuous classes of society that form the foundations of public dependence and safety.

Those who have strong mental faculties may possess more forecast and exel in the pursuit of science, arts, husbandry, commerce, &c. ; but they are not more useful ; all have their spheres of usefulness ; while the latter adds to the wisdom and wealth of the community, the others contribute to the es-sential elements of public support.

There are those, with education and intellect, with malicious enmity to all order. They disclaim against all distinction. The respectable do not trumpet their own praise ; and as they are the objects of malice and slander, their true value is not known or fairly appreciated by the ignorant.

They denounce and repudiate all orders, degrees, morality, and mind, and struggle to bring down to their own level every-thing that is pure, exalted, and noble.

Their proclamation is that,

"Degree being vizarded,  
The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask."

And they blaspheme the law which rules and the spirit which says that

"The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre,  
Observe degree, priority, and place,  
Constancy, course, proportion, season, form,  
Office, and custom, in all line of order ;  
And therefore is the glorious planet, Sol,  
In noble eminence, enthroned and sphered  
Amidst the other."

— "But when the planets,  
In evil mixture, to disorder wander,  
What plagues, and what portents ! what mutiny ;  
What raging of the sea ; shaking of earth ;  
Commotion in the winds ; frights, changes, horrors,  
Divert and crack, rend and deracinate  
The unity and married calm of states  
Quite from their fixture ? O, when degrec is shaked,

Which is the ladder of all high designs,  
 The enterprise is sick ! How could communities,  
 Degrees in schools, and brotherhoods in cities,  
 Peaceful commerce from divided shores,  
 The primogenitive and due of birth,  
 Prerogative of age (law, rule, honor),  
 But by degree, stand in authentic place ?  
 Take but degree away, untune that string,  
 And, hark, what discord follows ! each thing meets  
 In mere oppugnancy : The bounded waters  
 Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores,  
 And make a sop of all this solid globe :  
 Strength should be lord of imbecility,  
 And the rude son should strike his father dead :  
 Force should be right ; or, rather, right and wrong  
 (Between whose endless jar justice resides)  
 Should lose their names, and so should justice too.  
 Then everything includes itself in power,  
 Power into will, will into appetite ;  
 And appetite, an universal wolf,  
 So doubly seconded with will and power,  
 Must make perforce an universal prey,  
 And, last, eat up himself. —  
 This chaos, when degree is suffocate,  
 Follows the choking.  
 And this neglection of degree it is  
 That by a pace goes backward, with a purpose  
 It hath to climb. The general's disdain'd  
 By him one step below : he by the next ;  
 That next by him beneath ; so every step,  
 Exampled by the first pace that is sick  
 Of his superior, grows to an envious fever  
 Of pale and bloodless emulation."

(*Troilus and Cressida*, Act i. S. 3.)

They openly proclaim or secretly wish—

“‘Let Heaven kiss earth ! now let not nature's hand  
 Keep the wild flood confined ! let order die !  
 And let this world no longer be a stage,  
 To feed contention in a lingering act ;  
 But let one spirit of the first-born Cain  
 Reign in all bosoms, that each heart being set  
 On bloody courses, the rude scene may end ;  
 And darkness be the burier of the dead.’”

(*2d part King Henry*, Act i, S. 2.)

It would seem that the dignified occupations of executive, legislative, and judicial officials placed them above the influence of sordid inducements; yet in all these departments, it has ever been that these elevated incentives to honesty do not control

the pride, or preserve the honor, but that these stations are eagerly sought for to accommodate the most heated desires for venal and treacherous perpetrations.

Committees of Congress, and State legislators in this country have repeatedly detected and exposed acts of unblushing peculation and wrong; much, no doubt, is undiscovered; and, although these places are too much exposed for concealment, and the obvious policy of every man in office is to be honest, yet the instances of these considerations being wholly disregarded, forces the belief that all office-hunters, and none others seem to obtain them, are in grit and grain remorseless villains.

These ripped up, uncontradicted, and unpunished violations of duty no longer excite surprise. What notice was taken of the recent insolent and enormous embezzlement of the government funds; or of the judicial abuses, denials of justice, corrupt co-partnerships, patronage for personal and public extortion and plunder, which have been openly and without a blink, audaciously and publicly perpetrated for years past? Vide "Ledger," March 3, 1848.

In 1835, there was a law relating to Orphans' Courts, reported and about to be passed, directing that the judges should examine the accounts of executors, &c., unless an interested party should request their reference to an auditor. Just as this bill was about to be passed, a proviso was covertly added, that this act should not apply to a certain county therein named. The political judges on the bench of that county had sufficient interest to have the law so altered as to force the reference of all such accounts to auditors, against the will of the *real* parties.

This provision threw these accounts, embracing millions every year, into the exclusive power of these sly and sordid judges, who in turn grabbed the monthly budget, for secret distribution to their hungry subservents.

Thus an oppressive law is forced upon the people of one county out of fifty-six counties in that State.

The *real* parties in interest in these immense trusts and funds are tyrannically compelled to suffer unlimited exactions. The fee bill as to this had been covertly repealed, and the parties were left to arbitrary patronage and spoils.

Time is wasted in sinister delays and pretexts for extortionate charges; whole estates are locked up for years, and often wasted and squandered.

What with trusts, and roads, lieenses for grog-shops, audits, commissioners, and monopolies, annually there has been obtained in fees by this special partnership, in a single county, more than \$100,000:—

This kite-tail law was snapped off in 1845, but it was secretly restored within a year; and the people are again in the hands of these corrupt and extortionate harpies.

This vile patronage was rich and bold enough to sweat the itching palms of potent senators, and leave enough to gorge the greedy maws of all the rest.

Wars, pestilence, and famine not half the havoe make that comes upon the world, in dark and bitter floods, by ermined dignity and fraud.

A judge, in his charge to a grand jury in 1850, for the first time in many years that this truth had come from the bennh, had the independenee to nominate the three hundred criminals returned upon a two months' calendar, and to suggest that "*men of property and respectability should take this matter into their own hands.*"

This referencee to persons of *property and respectability* brought out the denunciations of the rabble, and their polluted, corrupt newspapers. They said that this was an impudent attempt to establish classes and castes by the aristocracy against the poor, and the sickening puerility for reforming criminals by the soothing system was preached over by a long leader in one of these papers, in which it was revealed that a hardened and veteran malefactor, just then escaped from Botany Bay, and thereafter committed to prison in Philadelphia for burglary, had been found with large welts upon his back: and that now England would be taught how this subject of their eruelty would be tamed and coaxed baek to the paths of purity by our pardoning plan.

There is no true definition of the words *property* and *respectability* that will aecommodate the morbid and malignant spirit of the mob.

They do not admit that the words *men of property* only mean those who have honestly acquired property, and have the good sense to appreeiate its value and take eare of it; and that the expression "*persons of respectability*," whether rich or poor, implies those who conscientiously respect equal justice and law.

This is all that was ever meant by these terms, so offensive to the rabble.

Honest men want no distinctions: all they want is to be let alone. But the rogues and disturbers of the public peace and safety have compelled the industrious and virtuous portions of society to establish castes: one of these classes is for peace, order, and security; and another is for anarchy and pillage. One is for equal justice, and the other is for fraud and aggression.

The contention is between the bad and the good; those who want a chance to earn their living, and those who riot in insurrection and plunder.

Essentially appurtenant to the selfish spirit of man, is his ungovernable passion for superiority and sway; it is the root of all the dangerous and deceitful propensities: and, as it is hidden, he imagines that it is unknown to others, and, therefore, he is often the subject of singular mental conflicts between his will and his discretion.

Those not radically very wicked bluster and vapor, and endeavor to obtain applause by foppery and ostentation; while those of this temper, without conscience or caution, contradict, dispute, insult, and quarrel, and, if not checked in some way, they soon obtain encouragement by fellowship, and become open bullies.

Cowards disguise this feeling by plausible complacency, but secretly hold themselves above and against all others; and all men, as an offset to the suspicion that they are underrated or outdone, cherish bitter hatred against all who are objects of jealousy or envy. There are but few open rowdies; they are restrained by fear, but they are readily drawn together and united by social stimulations.

It is, therefore, necessary to check and prevent these pernicious approximations. They should not be suffered to herd and openly run together, or take any part in the affairs of the public. They secretly act upon the impulse of their brutal passions; and the result of their open and promiscuous combinations has always resulted in anarchy and violence.

No private or public grievance can be lawfully redressed by threats, defiance, and mobs. There never was an open *turn-out* by mechanics, tenants, or trades, that did not degrade their participants. All fire and party processions, with shouts, military music, banners, and torch-lights, agitate, alarm, and endanger the public repose. They are impudent and artful con-

trivances to substitute the hypocritical pretensions of the worst men for the legitimate and efficient authority of the law; and no man of intelligence and honor ever took part in these vulgar and insurrectionary occasions, who left them without self-reproach.

Let all the trades and occupations organize themselves for instruction, protection, and the promotion of industry and order; let the people, by parties, meet, discuss, and take distinct, open, popular, and independent action upon all matters which, by the institutions of the country, have been legitimately reserved to them.

Let them, with proud pomp and gorgeous display, institute horticultural, agricultural, and artistical exhibitions, munificently cherish and foster literary and scientific emulation, liberally patronise and encourage music, eloquence, innocent amusements, baths, balls, harmless recreations, temperance, and Sunday school associations, public worship, and pure religion.

In all these rich and glorious social exhilarations of body and mind, of the pure and precious aspirations of our weak and wayward nature, there should be unbounded indulgence.

For those who prefer these aspirations for the charms of home, friendship, and intellectual cultivation, a beautiful system of social harmony is achieved, which largely increases the stock of mental happiness.

They blend the concurring affinities of our nature, and neutralize the shock of discordant elements which refuse congection.

Infinite care in this should be employed to put down the first attempt for universal equality; all efforts to level the personal, moral, mental, or pecuniary distinctions of men by any standard are unnatural.

Banish factions, monopolies, and gambling; disperse and drive away all gatherings from rum-holes, corners, and fires; and suppress their plots to command public countenance and sanction, by processions and public displays. Their secret meetings cannot be prevented, but they should not be suffered openly to aggregate themselves by celebrations as respectable persons, or to hold possession of the public peace and safety, under the pretext of subduing fires. Persons of this description are only fit for fighting battles, or performing similar brutal services, under the discipline of stringent authority.

If they are permitted openly to organize as societies or com-

panies, a sympathetic fusion of bad passions follows, which might not occur if they are kept asunder. Their readiness for aggression is upon a footing with old convicts and malefactors, and they differ from them only in not being so well known. They are essentially obnoxious to those who, from cowardice, self-interest, or conscience, hold themselves honest; all the rest of mankind secretly encourage, and, when they dare, they connive at, and excuse them; and especially those women who love idleness, and delight in gallantries and intrigue.

They are wholly insensible to, and indifferent to the appreciations of the rank, morals, or character of the man who will secretly wed them, and minister to their keen and unsated appetite for fashionable and splendid prodigality. Such wives do not desert their husbands, nor get nervous shocks when they are suspected or convicted of infamous perpetrations; on the contrary, they revel in their ill-gotten luxuries, cling to their husbands with tears and mourning, and hypocritically implore the general sympathy for their lawful wedded sorrow.

It is this inveterate spirit of over-riding, and treading down all right and order, that produces clamorous and irresponsible organizations: they should be narrowly watched, and frustrated by the whip, the dungeon, or the halter. They know that they have no just claim to public or individual countenance, and get up dangerous conspiracies, under fierce and restless excitements, for distinction and control; and thus, under fraudulent simulations of virtue, thrust themselves before the public, obtain its confidence and toleration, and then, by fraudulent means, level, degrade, and agrarianize the true distinctions and just appreciations of mental and moral refinements, and banish all obstacles to their brutal lust for rapine and desolation.

They consist of the lazy, turbulent, sly, drunken, hypocritical, and desperate of all ages and ranks, without regard to intellect, knowledge, or condition, everywhere; but principally in large cities, and along with the transit and promiscuous gatherings upon railroads and steamers, and at hotels and watering-places, where they revel in secret fraud, and plunder, from the vile vagabond and cut-purse that infest the streets by day, and untenantied buildings and barns by night; the midnight gambler, rioter, burglar, house-burner, and murderer, through all the grades of character, occupation, position, and rank, up to the

corrupt and reckless politician, and the heartless and cold-blooded corporation robber.

It would seem as if this vile passion of self-love and domination stimulated and led off to activity all the other depravities of the heart.

The honest portions of society should combine, confederate, and agree together to put down and perpetually keep under, by the resolutions of lawful force, all the pernicious and destructive elements of discord and violence. There should be tolerated no artificial, unfair, aristocratical, or conventional advantages by an individual or set, over others; no man, or set of men, should be allowed to conspire, by covert schemes and false pretences, to make money off of, or obtain any advantages over others. It is inconsistent with the wise and wholesome dispensations of equal justice and right for any one to be too rich or opulent, or to hold too much distinction in any of the conventional spheres of society.

It inflates their pride and vanity without their knowing it; makes them proud, haughty, and restless; and naturally and unavoidably mortifies and frets others who have not these advantages, and who are their equals, and, perhaps, their betters, and compels them to feel the crushing severity and injustice of this arrogant superiority.

The distinctions which rest upon the foundations of virtue, intellect, industry, and religion, excite, with the possessor, subdued sensations of unaffected humility and benevolence; and, with the beholder, emotions of sincere applause. These are the only attributes of superiority which really do exist, and all others should be resolutely prevented and rigidly put down by this wholesome and salutary system; every honest man will have his proper, appropriate, and acknowledged rank cheerfully and frankly conceded to him; and, instead of competitions and rivalries on one side, and heartburnings on the other side, with all reputable persons there will happily and permanently prevail a glorious millennium of sincere and mutual harmony and congratulation.

That portion of public opinion which rests with, or comes from those who are engaged in open or secret wickedness and fraud, and all those who encourage and sympathize with them from any cause, however elevated may be their ostensible rank is most essentially unjust and arbitrary.

A merchant in Philadelphia, having occasion to consult counsel in New York, went there. He was carried to a fashionable party, where he incidentally mentioned the name of his proposed attorney. He was told that he was a man without cast or character, and that, if he employed him, he would be cut by all his friends. Several were referred to, who ratified this warning, and recommended another lawyer, as they said, of acknowledged eminence.

The gentleman presently waited on the good old Chancellor Kent, who fully endorsed the professional rank of the slandered lawyer, and explained the secret of these malignant backbiters.

The attorney in question happened to be engaged in the criminal prosecution of a nest of corporation cheats, to which this party belonged, and he, the eminent friend, was engaged to defend them.

The Chancellor very distinctly told him that, if he desired to lose all caste with honest men, he could certainly do so by listening to the authors of this slander.

The same intolerant spirit is ever found with the sordid, the mean, cowardly, haughty, vain, prejudiced, and tyrannical, in all spheres of society. They deny that any one who stands in the way of their grasping selfishness has any good quality, or that they ever do even a good act with honest purposes. Some one of these motives may be always traced to every one who is free about the faults, or sullen about the good qualities of others. There is something in the misfortunes of their best friends that they do not dislike.

The religious and moral portions of society, not the truly pious and good, but their fashionable imitators, are most arbitrary and unbending in their denunciations against every species of real or suspected incontinency.

It is of no consequence how many redeeming virtues there be, however honest, true-learned, or useful, no excuse is allowed.

The cut is maliciously dead; no countenance or toleration is suffered, and a systematic course of cold, undying, sleepless persecution is resolutely waged against every one soiled or blurred with this delinquency. A damned lie is as good for this arbitration, and as fatal to its object, as the truth. A previous marriage is disbelieved; after marriage is from force or fear; contrition, repentance, and reformation, which are all that Heaven demands, avail nothing.

The judgment of Christ upon this offence, pronounced upon

the self-condemned woman, “*taken in adultery*”—“*neither do I condemn thee*”—is nothing.

Nothing will wipe off this blot, or appease the unrelenting wrath of these fashionable moralists for unwedded indulgence, or extort a single emotion of charity for this impregnable impulse: more overwhelming than avarice or the love of glory, with both which, but not with this, unsuccessful temptations were made upon the mountain.—*St. Luke*, chap. iv.

Presumptuous, scornful, dissimulating Man and Woman! Subdue and smother down the fierce and secret glowings in thy sensual, jealous soul, before thou condemnest even the convicted, much less the suspected transgressor. Do not dare to scoff at the benignant mercy of thy Saviour, and profanely arrogate to thyself an attribute He disclaimed, lest thou too be “*convicted by thine own conscience*,” and forever banished from his favor by the awful and scathing condemnation he pronounced upon the guilty hypocrites in the temple at Jerusalem—“*He that is without sin amongst ye, let him first cast a stone at her*.”—*St. John*, ch. viii.

Much of the personal discomforts of life come from the want of an appropriate spirit of thinking, discrimination, comparison, and enterprise. We submit to lounge life away in poverty and obscurity rather than make spirited exertions.

Most men are passive, inert, neutral, stunted, or disfigured in their animal developments and mental capacities, wherein there is betrayed an evident want of symmetry and harmony, which is more readily observed and understood than it is susceptible of being defined or described.

They are creatures of mere circumstances; if naturally of bad propensity, they are a public nuisance, as paupers or criminals; and if passive in their feelings, and constrained to habits of labor in youth, become mere drudges.

Those above this standard, if honest, aspire to pursuits of profit or distinction.

If husbandmen, they squander no labor or time on barren and unproductive ground, but pitch their tents upon the plains and valleys of exuberant growth, where no manure or wasting sweat is required to fructify their crops.

If their employments are in commerce, science, or the arts, they amalgamate with rich and prosperous communities for patronage, opulence, and fame.

The wide and glorious world, with all its lovely hills and dells, roaring torrents, sparkling springs and streams, its golden harvests of fruits, and mind and heart, and soeial joy, by Heaven is spread abroad for man's delight; and slothful he who loiters on the greedy sands and sterile heath, beecause his father's bones have rotted there.

The mob took possession of St. Augustine's church, in the heart of the eity of Philadelphia early in the day, and avowed their determination to burn it that night. More than one thousand armed men were mustered to the neighborhood, who could have cleared away, and formed a eordon round the scene of insurreetion in half an hour; but they received no orders to move. At nightfall, some twenty or thirty ruffians leaped into, and fired this eostly and splendid edifice.

The adjaeent streets were crowded with thousands, of all sexes and ages. The building was wrapt in flames, and the tottering turret, with its burning beams, like bars of red-hot iron, brightened the heavens with noonday light.

It eraned and trembled, without a murmur from the applauding multitude.

What were the mental impulses of this throng of human souls? Where was the moral emotion to shrink with horror at this wanton destruotion of property, this savage deseration of the publie peace? Was there not an overwhelming predomination in every breast of brutal and depraved propensities, of open and violent insurrection against the laws of the land? Did not a fiend from hell sit in triumph over every heart that uttered shouts of joy on that awful oeeasion?

We do not know ourselves, and shrink from reproof; it is obnoxious to our vanity and pride, and affronts our self-love.

The rules of society are refinements in the art of passing over, and omitting to notice the faults of men; and private intereourse requires literal coneeessions of personal respect.

Nor are there any metaphysieal elueidations upon the instinct, the will, the desire, the motive, and upon mental necessity and moral liberty, which can change or alter the plain, praetieal demonstration, that the human heart is resolutely inclined to heedless, obstinate, headstrong, wilful sin; and that its manifest predominations of echoee are for wickedness.

It is idle and useless to excuse it under the plea of ignorance,

bad example, or temptation ; these artifices are prompted by the same depraved spirit of evil that perpetrates sin.

Every one who has the mental power called Will, the faculty which prompts to do an act, has knowledge enough to know what he does ; and, if he does a bad act, why does he do it but for the love of doing it ; and why love to do it if his inherent propensity is not evil ? Why is it that fools do no good acts, and that they are always doing bad acts, but that their natural inclinations are evil ? They know what they do ; it is from choice ; they know it is wrong, and they do it wilfully.

The bent, the leaning, the preponderating impulses of the heart are for evil ; the actions and lives of all bad men show this, and the acknowledgments and confessions of all honest men confirm it.

All the concealments, covert fraud, trick, disguise, chicane ; all the open contempt and rebellion against right and law are only so many proofs and acknowledgments that sin is known by its perpetrators to be wrong ; and that they do it wilfully, and with their eyes open.

A thorough understanding of these fundamental obstacles to the laws should be fearlessly examined, and their practical character promptly resisted.

The political and moral institutions of society cannot exist upon any other basis than virtue and honor ; every dishonest use of the public authority, and all abuses of its peace and safety, are an open insurrection and rebellion against the people and their government.

Every one capable of choosing, and of willing to do an act, and of doing the act by his own free will, knows what he does. He acts under no necessity, but by his unrestrained liberty ; for which he should be promptly and sufficiently punished. To excuse or screen him is just as bad as to justify him. He must be restrained or removed if he will not let others alone ; or they go without redress, and he is encouraged to repeat his aggressions.

The preservation of individual rights and public security is as essential to their existence as the necessary means for the protection of life from fatal contacts ; and there is the same urgent occasion to vindicate and defend the first as there is to shelter and protect the other.

It is a question of life and death, in which no apathy or sympathy can be reasonably or safely indulged.

It is just as reprehensible to stand by and suffer a mad dog to bite a child, without smiting the brute dead, as it is for society to permit thieves and murderers to rob and kill without prompt and unsparing extinguishment.

The rattlesnake and the wolf are no more dangerous to life than the burglar and murderer; neither should be excused or spared under any subterfuge or pretext whatever.

The one attacks man's life by a natural instinct for destruction, the other by a wilful desire for rapine and blood; the human brute is therefore less excusable than the dumb beast.

No occasion should be omitted for exposing these vile and pernicious propensities of the human heart; to contrast the imminent exposure and immeasurable responsibility of those who maintain the public weal; to show how the wicked and perverse inclinations of a portion of society disturb the public repose, and to detect and classify their leading and most obnoxious traits; to index the secret springs of their mental operations, and to show the utter impracticability of reaching their hearts by any of the ordinary means of reasoning, reproof, or admonition; to crush wrong by iron force, and to protect right against wilful aggression without stint or false mercy.

The wicked are becoming better educated, more crafty, and powerful; they combine more physical strength, intellectual force, with more sympathy from the masses, than they have ever before had. They should be narrowly watched, jealously tried, and extirpated without compunction.

There is no regal or military arm to curb their bent, and no efficient, judicial, or political authority, as the factions and parties now exist, to arrest or restrain their progress.

They spare no home, no name, nor sex, nor age, nor life; they lurk in midnight confederation, rob, burn, and murder; they conflagrate and spill blood for love of rapine; juries, judges, and executives screen them from punishment; the halter should be their doom, and all honest men should combine to obliterate them and their foul confederates from the face of the earth.

The only remedy is for the honest and respectable members of society to cast off the ridiculous and unmeaning indifference they have heretofore exhibited about public affairs and criminal punishments; for every man to join some one of the political parties; go to the primary meetings; have them held in

the daytime, and away from taverns and rum-holes ; keep out drunkards and office-hunters from every party ; let no one have authority to nominate himself for office, and no man be allowed to vote, or elected or appointed to office who is not sober, competent, industrious, and responsible ; and thus put under, and for ever keep down this rabble of depraved and abandoned scoundrels, who prey upon society by hypocrisy and political intrigue.

The present alarming and censurable apathy with the intelligent and responsible portions of society upon this momentous subject must be cast off, the plausible absurdities of cowardly and covert rogues in the guise of reformers, and the whole swarm of political gamesters, must be for ever banished, and the tone and dignity of public constraint must be restored to a wholesome and stringent standard of necessary and primitive rigor ; or the present career of crime and violence will jeopard the pure and noble institutions of the only free country upon the face of the globe.

## CHAPTER XII.

### ARISTOCRACY.

Definition—Political—Nobility—Titles—Land—Moneyed corporations—Monopolies—Industry—Employments—Honor—Examples—Sympathies—United States—Army—Navy—Vagabonds—Fungus—Distinctions—Passions—Avarice—Pride—Oppression—Power—Kings—Mobs—Municipal law—Politics—Fashion—Custom, &c.—Punishments—Demagogues—The rabble—Orders—Degrees—Merit—Causes of aristocracy—Women—Children—Domestic circles—Arbitrary laws of society—Municipal laws—Depravities—Rulers—Politicians—Shylocks—Fashion.

THE very general mismanagement of children ; their idleness and indulged propensities at the only period of life in which habits of industry, self-government, and integrity can be formed, are, from the ignorance, carelessness, and vanity of parents, almost universal.

There is a foolish disposition with parents, who are called well to do in the world, to have their children schooled, dressed, and accommodated with pocket money, amusements and caprices, according to the undefined and ridiculous standards of fashion which they form, by a superficial reference to families above them, with whom they have no acquaintance, and with whose domestic arrangements they are totally ignorant.

The children of those in the humble spheres of life are permitted to range the streets day and night ; are not taught to read or work, or furnished with any moral instructions.

Thus encouraged, as they grow up, they become coarse, rude, vulgar, and profane ; hate labor ; abuse respectable persons ; soon learn to repudiate their debts ; lie, swindle, cheat, defraud, and steal, and defy law and religion.

The natural depravity of the human heart is prone to all these vices ; to prevent them from being engrafted upon the instincts of nature, requires the most careful discipline and training in youth.

Where these inherent hereditary propensities prevail, there is no moral remedy.

From these causes, and from these sources, an incredible number of persons, thus degenerated, are at maturity cast upon the world.

They practice and subsist on the credulity of society; are sheltered from its indignation by the crafty concealment of their real characters, and spared from the penalties of open perpetration by their inherent precautions and cowardice.

In the warm months, thousands of them are seen shooting in fens and hedges, bobbing upon the flats, and streams, lounging in skiffs and shades, smoking, drinking, and guzzling in brutal apathy.

In the winter weeks, they loaf in taverns, oyster-cellars, billiard and gaming rooms, at corners, and on fire-plugs; and send their mothers, wives, and children to solicit charity and beg; while they pilfer, debauch, make fights, fires, riots, mobs; fill almshouses, prisons, and penitentiaries.

It is from this class of society, and those by nature bent on mischief, that the roots of aristocracy shoot off, in all its concealed and hidden windings.

These vile propensities of the human heart are irrespective of intellect; and, therefore, this portion of the community furnishes rank and file for all the pursuits of imposition, duplicity, abuse, and oppression.

These are the pernicious and dangerous sources from whence, in all countries, and in all ages, have sprung the pests and persecutors of man.

From the pilfering beggar to the imperial cut-throat; from the petty swindler to the highway robber; from the nostrum vendor to the tilted pedagogue; and from the street brawler to the audacious pirate.

And just in proportion to their impunity, are the sufferings of all portions of men increased and multiplied.

Originally, the word aristocracy was used to signify the distinction between a despotic and a supposed better form of government, placed in the hands of an order of privileged persons.

When this number was reduced to a few, the government was called an oligarchy; which implied a corrupted aristocracy.

But now the word aristocracy is used to express the name or feeling entertained for every species of imposition, and unlawful inequality; every act of wrong and injustice; every thing cruel,

oppressive, and brutal; whether it be inflicted by one man on a thousand, or by one thousand on one man.

All these things are denominated aristocracy; and the perpetrators are called aristocrats.

The man or the men who sneer at honest labor and true religion—who are lazy, live on others, meddle with and plague their neighbors, disturb the peace, and dabble in public affairs for gain—are as impudent and offensive aristocrats, in their sphere, and according to their opportunities, as the brawling political intriguer, the feudal lord, the titled baron, or sceptered despot.

The broad and popular definition of the word aristocracy, in the United States, now means everything that trenches upon equality and freedom.

It applies to morals, manners, politics, religion, and all the relations of life; and it is really understood to mean any unfair ascendancy and domination in any of the pursuits or departments of life; in all of which it is regarded as odious, hateful, and detestable.

There is no measure or limit to its powers of irritation, its singular faculties to annoy.

In various shapes and forms, and under different names and pretexts, this assumption and abuse of power have perpetrated more perplexing outrages than were ever suffered from the curse of toil and sweat put on Adam.

There is no subject now that produces so much restless excitement and bitterness, with the people of the United States, as their ridiculous apprehensions, and misconceived notions, of aristocracy.

In one sense, perhaps, aristocracy might be said to mean the stigma inflicted by a forfeiture and corruption of blood, being the heaviest blow of power; and the titles and orders of nobility of the Old World, which secure for the few over the many most unjust and oppressive privileges.

In this country, there are no such penalties or advantages allowed; they are all expressly forbidden by constitutional inhibitions; and every man is put upon an equal footing as to all political franchises; and if he is convicted of a crime, there is no infliction but that which falls on himself; his children have the same chance for success as if he had died a saint.

And the spirit of liberality in this respect has been most wonderfully exercised in the United States.

Men and women from convicted parentage, who but for this charitable indulgence would have been infamous, have been suffered to take respectable rank in society; and when their conduct has been proper, their tainted lineage has been wholly overlooked.

They should be narrowly watched; for, if the moral virus is in their blood, their circumspection of conduct will be much more likely to be influenced by considerations of policy than integrity.

Whenever a strong temptation, combined with the chameleons of concealment, occurs, there will be an inevitable indulgence of the natural and inherent propensity to commit crime.

A very large proportion of all the calamities which fall on man come from the crafty, adroit, secret, and relentless perpetrations of persons with these moral obliquities.

One of these predominating propensities of man is for place and power.

His intolerant vanity will not stoop to hold talk with the common herd, as he considers them; but he will obtain power over them by fraud or force; and riot in their control and government.

The fierce and unsatisfied lust for this indulgence has in all times convulsed the world, and maintained a perpetual conflict between oppression and liberty.

The political institutions of the United States have interposed effectual barriers against these abuses also; but still there are everywhere the most insolent attempts made to pervert these constitutional safeguards against aristocracy into fraudulent excuses for unblushing acts of treason.

Happily, the periodical elections frustrate these artful schemes; and thus these pernicious and fearful aggressions have been principally confined to the odious and disgusting demonstrations of what is called a moneyed aristocracy.

Nothing can be so precarious or uncertain as riches. Nothing but slavery has ever so largely contributed to demoralize the character and enervate the energies of man; and nothing possesses so few inducements to excite envy or regret for the want of it.

If money is obtained by inheritance, marriage, accident, or fraud, or by any means but by industry, the passion for indulgence is generally too strong for the dictates of discretion; by fast living, the holder will soon be where he was before he got it—an object of derision and contempt to others, useless to

- himself and society, while it lasts ; and debauched and ruined for the rest of his life.

If he has obtained it by his own labor and economy, he will not feel its worth, except for necessaries, and its useful and lawful employment.

The commendable habits of frugality, which earned and saved, will not waste it, or suffer the owner to be abused by its possession.

Few have suddenly acquired large fortunes by the ordinary course of honest industry. This is the result of desperate adventures, made without labor or capital, and at the risk of others ; by which patient honesty is blunted, bad appetites are encouraged, the true use and value of money are lost sight of, extravagance is indulged, new schemes for gain are perpetrated ; and the drama closes with wasted means and wreck of character.

Every sensible person may detect these gambling adventurers, however genteel or plausible, by watching their progress, and testing their developments with the plain and unerring realities of life.

Instead of wishing for such leisure and luxury, we should scorn its wickedness, and reprobate its infamous examples.

What is called respectable mercantile employment so largely partakes of everything opposed to the pure character, and certain results, of patient labor—so much of hazard, extravagance, disaster, and loss of reputation—as to rebuke down the restless aspirations for intemperate and irrational indulgences, and bring the uneasy judgment to a settled level of absolute conviction, in the solemn fact, that all security for the morals and the comforts of life is lost the instant we leave the beaten paths of constant and contented toil.

The aged and decrepit nurse of a female ward, at an infirmary, near Philadelphia, was, but a few years since, the brilliant bride of a proud and successful jobber in stocks and lands, who died in the Almshouse.

The heads of two of the largest mercantile houses in the United States, whose means and credit are unbounded, pay their fathers' board, in obscure villages, who once were princes upon 'Change, and are now poor and forgotten.

Twenty years will twice change every sign, and abolish every firm, in any city in the world.

In a lecture delivered at Boston in 1848, by General Dear-

born, he stated that he had ascertained, by consulting the recollections of the oldest merchants, and the banks, the probate office, and the books of the Custom House, that ninety-seven out of every one hundred persons who obtained their livelihood by, or pursued the business of buying and selling, failed, and died insolvent.

There should be nothing in the vacillating and perilous fortunes of these classes of men to excite the envy, or nettle the pride, of the poor; and he who acquires wealth, if he appreciates its use, generally does more good than evil with it.

Respectable rich men are careful to avoid the appearances of superiority on that account, and maintain rigid habits of frugality and industry to the last.

Those who are not respectable, whether rich or poor, ought not to hold any influence, or be so regarded as to suffer their conduct to hurt our feelings, or disturb our composure.

The independent spirit of every man should firmly keep its place, and not be ruffled or disturbed by vulgar insolence or vapid ostentation.

It is not therefore money, beyond its proper and reasonable use, that constitutes happiness, or creates any real distinctions in society.

Intellect, wisdom, industry, and integrity are the only distinctions which should be recognized amongst men; and according to the political creed of the people of the United States, they constitute the only standards of moral and conventional elevation.

It may not be deemed inappropriate here to give some illustrations of the artificial sources, and criminal character, of a very large proportion of the persons who, in every community, assume the bearing and affectation of wealth and consideration, to explain the sophistries and deceptions of what is called the aristocracy of high life; and to contrast its degraded and precarious realities with the elements of true merit and pure honor.

These pungent applications are founded in truth.

One of the most insolent and aristocratic fungous patricians that ever floated in the United States, with immense revenue, equipage, cushioned pulpit-pew, gorgeous palace, splendid chateau, with parks and ponds, upon the river bank—extensive connections; lived to have children grown up, settled, on the

bench, president of bank, in Congress, &c. &c.—began the world as a journeyman carpenter; where from, or of what paternity, no one ever knew.

Too lazy to work, and with a depraved taste, better suited for groveling brutality and crime than honest labor, he became the door-keeper and ticket-vender for the ball-room of an old French bawd; married her dissolute, illegitimate daughter; inherited her estates; turned genteel, and intrigued himself and his chaste spouse up into the artificial regions of mushroom ar-roganee and aristocracy.

In 1813, the Secretary of the Home Department in England was waited on by a Quaker lady of manifest intelligence and respectability, who requested the favor of a private interview. The time for which was fixed, when she informed the secretary that she was the wife of a gentleman, whom she named, who was born in London, and, in 1780, when he was about thirty years old, emigrated to the United States, where he married her; that they had eight children, all grown and married, were in opulent circumstances, and enjoyed good reputation.

She stated that her husband desired to visit London for three or four months, and had sent her to get his permission.

His reason for this special request was that some unfavorable reports had been circulated about him at the time he left England, and he thought it best not to rely on a general passport, which he could get from the government of the United States, as he had been for many years naturalized in that country.

A very full inquiry was made by the secretary as to his person, the ship he went to the United States in, where he lived, &c., all of which she most promptly answered, so far as she knew; and she was told to call upon a day that was named for an answer.

At the time named, she called, and was politely told by a clerk that he was directed to inform her that her request could not be granted.

She begged to know the reason, and was told that no reason had been given.

She then desired to speak to the secretary, and was admitted. With great excitement, she implored him, not so much to grant her request, as for an explanation of the cause for its refusal.

The secretary expressed regret that she had taken so much interest in a matter which could not now be of much import-

anee to her, considering her great age, the settlement of her children, and the safe and respectable condition of her husband.

She replied that these were the causes of her anxiety.

"To have spent my life," said she, "in peace and outward honor, with a man whose dreams, mysterious connections, cautious formalities of speeh, frequent and unexplained absenees, and profusion of wealth, have made him an objeet of wonder and fear, was nothing compared to the horror of having borne him six sons and two daughters, all of whom are married, and have children ; and every one of whom eovertly maintains the same cold obseurity of charaeter and conduet secretly with him.

"My sons' wives, and my daughters' husbands," she eontinued, "are involved in the same perplexity. I, therefore, urge your lordship to relax the eeremonies of your high station, and eompassionately give me a solution of this afflicting and mysterious affair."

The secretary replied that it was wholly out of his power to give her information that would mitigate her suspieions, and he feared that the whole disclosure might inerease them ; that he would have a written statement prepared, which he would hand to her, upon the express condition that she would not unseal it until she reached home. She aeeepted the required terms, obtained the paper, repressed her restless euriosity, and faithfully kept her promise.

Upon reaching her home, she encoountered the ealm and resolute eye of her husband, and told him all that had oceurred, except her own part of the embassy. This was the first time she had ever dissimulated to him, and his searching scrutiny deetected her prevarication. When he asked her if she had asked the seeretary why he refused the request, and she said "No !" he replied, "That is a lie !" and left the room.

She convened her sons' wives and her daughters' husbands, and broke the seal, and read as follows :—

"His name is not Jones: it is John Kingston. His father is not known ; his mother was a hatchet and bag-woman—a common beggar and thief of St. Giles. He and one Jonathan Matthews ostensibly kept a conveyaneer's office in the Strand. They were seeretly connected with numerous and extensive frauds and robberies. They were trailed, got wind of our pur-suit, and fled. They pass by forged names, and have been, all their lives, engaged with an immense gang of the most adroit and succeessful villains.

“Their associations are numerous and extensive; they all maintain genteel appearances; pretend to pursue some respectable employment; have families; educate their children; give their sons professions; move in genteel society; mix themselves with business, polities, and religion.

“They are clergymen, bishops, judges, sheriffs, prothonotaries, members of Congress, and State legislators, officers in the army and navy, directors, cashiers, and presidents of banks; and one of them is now attached to a legation from the United States on the Continent.

“They maintain covert confederation with pirates, assassins, robbers, and forgers; give them succor, shelter, and aid; and share the fruits of these marauders.

“The secrets of merchants, bankers, navies, armies, and governments are thus sapped and used for the purposes of dark and astounding frauds.

“They revel in silent and secret crimes, poison, forgery, swindling, robbery, and arson.

“They are seldom detected: and, when caught, the most consummate and artful requisitions, and incredible auxiliary appliances of secret personal influence, intrigue, corruption, and bribery, are employed to strangle prosecutions, obtain verdicts of acquittal, disagreements of juries, new trials, arrest and reversal of judgments, rescues, escapes, and pardons.

“They can prove anything, and raise any funds.

“They are base-born, and their hearts are at open war with all honest men.

“Their breed never reforms or regenerates, but the subtleties of its moral pollutions increase, as it descends through the blood to their issue, with the certainty of reptile tenacity.

“They have cabalistic signals, signs, words, and hieroglyphics. They swarm all over the United States, and cover the face of the whole world.”

Returning to the political thread of this discussion, it is remarked that, however the local institutions of some of the States have established political privileges in the landed and other property qualifications for suffrage and for office, these are all obnoxious to the free and equal principles avowed and proclaimed by most of the State charters, and which constitute the very essence of their national compact.

It is now the acknowledged and unalterable law of this western hive of mind, your business republicans, established by

charters, sound good sense, universal public opinion, and the all-controlling power of imperial fashion, that there shall nowhere be tolerated or allowed, however harmless or innocent, the slightest pretensions to the feudal aristocracy of Europe, or any other distinctions by the possession of riches.

There is an intimate and close sympathy of interest and feeling with all honest men, whether rich or poor.

In this view, poverty and riches are indifferent and immaterial considerations.

The compact of society does not rest on money, but on the necessity for safety and right ; there are conspiracies by those without capital to monopolize trade ; but rich men are generally shy of connections by which their money will be controlled by others.

To realize an indemnity for necessities, the maintenance, education, and settling out of children, and the comforts of age, can be accomplished, in some calling or employment, by patient industry, cautious dealings, temperate living, and the active and manly use of our faculties.

More than this, is labor wasted ; it sates the proper rational appetite, and leads to avarice, the moth of quiet age.

The instance of a mere soldier, or military chieftain, assuming political power, is rare. In the United States, it has not occurred.

They sometimes shrink from it, even when it is offered to them.

Wellington was evidently surprised when first spoken to of the premiership.

General Taylor was certainly sincere when he said, in reply to his first invitation to the presidency, that he was but a soldier, and unfit for the duties of that office.

Bolivar was a pure patriot. Nicholas was born a despot.

Napoleon is the only civilized modern instance of a man who has held with force the sword in one hand, and the sceptre in the other.

In the United States, this would be absurd temerity and madness.

At Paulus Hook, General Washington in scorn denounced the proposal for military treason.

General Jackson, and General Taylor, in the course of their

elections, conducted themselves with marked delicacy and decorum.

Their nominations were made, and their elections attained, by the people, without their interference. They were, neither of them, charged with improper efforts for their election.

The other military gentlemen of the Revolution, of the wars of 1812, and the last war, have maintained distinguished and elevated positions in the community for learning, professional skill, bravery, and lofty patriotism.

There is not an instance in which they have compromised their purity and dignity by private defection or public interference.

The country has resolved upon a strong and splendid naval establishment for the protection of her immense sea coast, her numerous harbors, and her commercial marine, and to sustain her national rank with foreign powers: a policy which should be liberally and sedulously fostered.

It has been a proud and gallant arm of public power, with strong sinews of moral energy, and chivalrous triumphs upon the land and sea.

It is scattered all over the world; its sphere is upon the ocean; and its officers and crews only come along shore to taste the eup of home.

All a sailor wants is an open sea, fair fight, and victory; this a Yankee tar always gets. He abuses and libels no one; he joins no riots, to murder and burn; he brawls and bullies about at no fires, political gatherings, elections, or torch-light processions.

He belongs to no scrubby combinations of jobbers and swindlers to rob and plunder the people by corporation conspiracies, shin-plaster thefts, and legislative and executive corporations.

The liberties of no country were ever betrayed by its sailors; nor its morals debauched by their avarice, peculation, or lawless ambition.

The United States cannot, under the present system, ever have their liberties disturbed by standing armies, because they are not suffered.

Recent occasions have demonstrated that American soldiers can learn the art of fighting and victory so well, in a few weeks, as to conquer a nation, return home, lay down their arms, and scatter to their homes, in peace and good order.

So that there never can be an aristocracy in the United States such as has cursed and degraded other parts of the world ; and there never will be, in the United States, orders of nobility, with perpetual and oppressive hereditary privileges and offices, forced upon the people by irresponsible sovereigns, with large salaries, and tyrannical power.

The only aristocracy with which they now are and ever will be scourged, is the swarm of depraved and restless scoundrels, of all classes and ages, from the ragged urchin to the brawling fireman and mob bully ; from the petty ward-meeting pimp and spy up to the audacious leaders of faction ; from the derveling petitioner for a detestable money corporation up to the pompous and bloated bank director ; from the footpad note-shaver up to the audacious gambler in stocks and exchange.

This is the fungus of society ; these are cormorants that suck out the rich blood of the people ; the sly and smooth-faced hypocrites, who pretend to morals and religion, and shop-lift their neighbors' goods ; who burn, mob, and murder, defy the law, scoff at religion, insult all honest men, frequent groggeries, brothels, and gambling-houses, make tumults and riots, and degrade and profane all law, order, peace, and honor.

Who never earn a dollar ; abuse those who will work ; and live off of other people's labor ; and envy and hate, despise and persecute every decent man ; and are devoured by remorse ; feel an abject sense of contempt and horror for themselves ; and fear the presence of virtuous men : who take pleasure in a constant course of insult, secret defamation, and robbery, to revenge themselves for the contempt with which they are regarded by others.

These are the vile materials from which aristocracy is formed in all countries ; and if these villains had a chance in the United States, they would all be kings, princes, dukes, and noblemen ; and their ignorant and vulgar wives and daughters would be the orthodox and legitimate marchionesses and peeresses of the realm.

The depredations and agrarian villainies of this infamous horde will not cease to disgrace and convulse the people of the United States until all penitentiaries are demolished ; and riot, swindling, conspiracy, and gambling, are made felony.

Until all crimes are punished by the stock, the thong, the knife, the red-hot iron, for the first offence ; and with the gibbet for a second perpetration, without reprieve or pardon.

These wholesome good old punishments would keep eowardly raseals quiet ; extinguish the resolute seoundrels ; and, in due time, purge off the bad blood of the body politie, and leave the remaining circulation free from malignant and spasmodie frenzies.

It would disencourage the obtrusion of demagogues and factionists, and contribute to the establishment of a rule for the honest selection of faithful and competent persons for the publick confidencee and favor.

"For who shall go about  
 To cozen fortune, and be honorable,  
 Without the stamp of merit! Let none presume  
 To wear an undeserved dignity.  
 O that estates, degrees, and oflices  
 Were not derived corruptly! and that clear honor  
 Were purchased by the merit of the wearer?  
 How many then should cover that stand bare?  
 How many be commanded that command?  
 How much low peasantry would then be glean'd  
 From the true seed of honor? and how much honor  
 Picked from the chaff and ruin of the times.

*(Merchant of Venice, Act ii., S. 9.)*

An explanation of the sourees and causes of the depravities adverted to may be further understood by a slight reference to the original and germinating character of the mind and the passions.

Their development in the soeial and conventional relations produces the diversified shades, conditions, and arbitrary distinctions already deseribed.

The heart, in its primitive state, is under no selfish feelings ; but is impulsive, soeial, and guileless.

Children, women, and those in the rural and unsophisticated spheres of life, have no seerets or notions of inequality. In sickness and affliction, they mutually sympathize ; in health and prosperity, they help and share with each other ; and in joy and mirth, with unaffected emotions of sineerity and kindness, they join in reciprocations of artless interest and love. It does not occur to them that the peace and honor of society can be promoted by unneaning and artifcial distinctions, established by arbitrary customs ; that human happiness is attained and seured by shutting the door of social hospitality in the face of all who may not be born within, or married into, the eaprieious eirele formed by their frigid despotism ; and that purity of heart

and life, and the light of thought and soul, are not the richest attributes of Heaven's holy aristocracy.

But when the passions are wakened up by worldly excitement, all the kind and generous inclinations are displaced by cupidity, pride, and selfishness.

Usages, laws, and customs, which are written in no book, or recorded upon any tablet, are then arbitrarily ordained and unjustly enforced without warning or explanation, and all the world required to submit to their insolent prescriptions without a murmur.

Can any one tell who made the law, or explain the reason for its authority; that a palace or coach should be more respected than a cottage or an ox-cart? why the proud and the rich should be more esteemed than the poor and the humble?

Why arrogance is genteel, and humility degrading? why idleness is tolerated, and labor neglected? why licentiousness is winked at, and purity is doubted; extravagance encouraged, and economy sneered at; temperance ridiculed, and drunkenness pitied; swindling excused, and honesty questioned? why rudeness, cruelty, extortion, oppression, fraud, and violence are favored and suffered instead of being universally and indignantly condemned?

The explanation is found in the arrogance by which the selfish spirit of man excuses and sanctions, as lawful and right, that which most accommodates his depraved and secret appetites.

Municipal laws are so exposed to evasions as to render them almost useless; while the arbitrary dictations of the most sordid and sinister passions are obeyed with servile obedience.

However we affect to prefer good to evil, all the secret impulses are bad; and their indulgence is allowed just as opportunity occurs, or recklessness prevails.

In the exercise of these inclinations, there is no constraint but the conscience; if that is weak, or discouraged, there is no motive to govern but policy.

Those who hold the power promulgate these arbitrary laws; and those who are not supreme yield to the dictations of their superiors from necessity, policy, and fear; and, also, because that which is wrong really suits their wishes best; and so that they in their turn may employ the same oppressions upon those under them.

Immense numbers aequiesce for peace's sake, and from sheer

ignorance, feeling and acting upon the notion that those who are better off, and have more impudence than they, must know more, and are in the right. So that, from a combination of these and other causes, society is scourged by a code of despotism and vacillating edicts, infinitely more stringent and severe than the acknowledged and written laws of God and man.

What people say and think is held to be fundamentally right, without the least regard to justice or honor. And, as the bad, and not the good propensities govern, so must those opinions, prejudices, and rules, which spring from these sources, be most fashionable, acceptable, and popular.

The municipal law forbids swindling, dueling, and gambling. The law of public opinion upholds and encourages them.

If the restraints and penalties of the laws of God and man are evaded by trick and fraud, the popular exultation breaks out in shouts of joy; while he who refuses to accept or challenge to fight with deadly weapons is denounced as a poltroon and a coward; and those who refuse to consort with fashionable rogues and genteel gamesters are sneered at, and put in Coventry, as vulgar closhoppers. [The three last points referred to are discussed in Chapter XVIII.]

From these pernicious and imperious influences, there has been in all ages a prevalence of the most destructive and scandalous aristocracies.

They are distinguished, first, by a race of robbers and murderers, who ride rough-shod over all law, and seat themselves on thrones, and rule with fire and sword.

They summon to their ready service myriads of kindred fiends, with power to hold perpetual feudal sway; sweating the earth, and scourging man and beast, to feed their gluttony and lust.

Then follows the aristocracy of polities, with its immense train of love-sick patriots, brawling senators, crafty ministers of state, cunning ambassadors, hungry office-seekers, and corrupt and tyrannical office-holders, who lie, lounge, plunder, and betray.

Next are seen the Shylocks of mammon, dealers, peddlers, stock and corporation jobbers, who inflate the world with frauds, and villanies, and infest it with ignorance, debauchery, madness, beggary, and crime.

These are closely pursued by a pernicious flock of rooks, bats, vultures, and kites, with swarms of vermin, reptiles, and human

monsters, decorated with dazzling and glittering pageantry, flaunting to the high heavens gorgeous banners, radiant with riches, power, and splendor. They startle up the bewildered world with soft and thrilling raptures, and hold them, by mysterious spells and charms, in agonies of sensual transport and brutal lust. They wield the magic sceptre of universal fashion, and wear the imperial crown of popular and fæcinous sway; and their oracles speak from the Gods of Moloch and Sodom.

These faint and imperfect hints may serve to touch the perplexed heart with profitable thoughts, and warn the baffled soul to mark, detect, and shun the poisonous ground, the rancorous roots, the upas trees, and fungi fruits, that blight and blast man's peace and hope on earth—

ACCURSED ARISTOCRACY!

## CHAPTER XIII.

### SLAVERY.

Those for and against it violent—No slavery lawful—God made all men free—No human power can authorize it—Abstract law—The law of, in the United States, discussed—Are slaves property?—The District of Columbia—In the territories of the United States—In new States—Of fugitive slaves, remedy.

“All men are created equal.”—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE advocates and adversaries of slavery reciprocate vituperations so degrading as to banish all decent auditors.

No man can hear their fierce personal onsets, and their foul and vulgar language, without disgust.

One set is proscribed and accused as auctioneers in human flesh; and the other as mad and wilful conspirators for fire and murder.

No allowances are made for the force of education and necessity on one side, nor for excitement and fervor on the other.

Both claim for themselves the purest, and deny to each other the slightest, motives of sincerity.

The abolitionists charge the slaver with pagan infidelity; while they, in turn, are charged with stirring up revolt, and encouraging bloodshed and desolation.

Nothing can be so absurd as to hear a slave-driver professing or holding forth the pure examples of our Saviour; or to hear a fanatical and abusive amalgamationist making impious appeals to his Maker.

The result is that but little true light is obtained from these sources, as is always the case with those who quarrel, or who make a trade or an agony of what they practice.

If all they say of each other is true or false, it boots not; for the merits or demerits, the right or wrong, of human bondage is a question by itself, which belongs to the conscience; and there, within the secret and solemn meditations of the soul, it must be decided.

Very little has been spoken or published on either side except by politicians and fanatics. It is now proposed to submit a few impartial observations for the candid and serious consideration of the sober-minded of all parties.

No human laws or penalties ever reformed a man; they may deter, but cannot convert; they harden, but do not tame; they heat up hatred, not love.

Man, bent on mischief, does not pause to debate anything but success and fear.

If he has no conscience, or if his bad propensities predominate over his good impulses, he takes his will, as cupidity and hope lead on.

If he is truly upright in his views, unless weak and sorely tempted, he will not deliberately sin; and no intelligent man, under the control of a pure, free conscience, was ever engaged in slavery.

This assertion is put flat and bold, without harsh language; it is an abstract position, an element in morals and mental philosophy which is true or false; it cannot be dodged; its test is found in the character and nature of slavery.

Negro or pagan slavery is no more lawful than white or Christian slavery.

As to this, it is a mere point of power; there are, perhaps, as many whites who have been slaves to others as blacks who have been held by whites. It is an abstract question of right, and not power; war and conquest, in no case, can give a right to do more than vindicate wrongs, by indemnity for losses in property, and to retaliate upon the enemy within the limits of primary and natural laws. Victors, perhaps, in vindication, might burn or confiscate property, or slay their enemies; these retaliations are allowed, it is said, under the rule "*ex necessitate rei.*"

It is averred that they are within the range of things natural; but a conqueror certainly would have no right to do an unnatural thing, even for retribution. He would have no right, even if it were for retaliation, to deliver his prisoners over to cannibals or sodomites, because this is unnatural; and, for the same reason, he would have no right to put them in personal slavery, for this is against the law of nature.

By martial or political bondage here, is not meant a restraint of civil liberty, which is partial and temporary, but personal slavery. This is unnatural; everything is unnatural which is

repugnant to the harmony of creation ; and, upon the dawn of that day which completed the consummation of creation, there were primary and fundamental instincts, moved, animated, and proclaimed, which the wicked and fallen, with perverted propensities, ever since then have constantly violated, but have never denied.

Millions have brutalized their souls by fiendish gluttony on human flesh ; and millions have polluted and despoiled their holy image in God by sodomy. For this revolting desecration of nature's laws, cities have been melted into burning lakes by just and indignant wrath.

The human family, still a race with fixed and similar indications, however various in mind and complexion, was, by its first great father and proxy, Adam, placed in the garden free ; no other animal was made free ; he alone was given, personally and intimately, face to face, to understand his Creator. God talked to and communed with him, and explained this to him, and told him *he was free*, and that he was placed *over* everything else ; not over his own seed, but over everything *else*.

Every child of Adam had this heritage, and no more ; it was enough. Adam's dominions descended to his children by inheritance, to be divided off by occupancy, and held in just possession.

This law has undergone no change ; God alone holds a natural right over man ; the children of Adam never held a natural right over each other ; nor any other right, except a power for redress for crimes, or the political rights surrendered under civil compacts for defense and protection, and as unavoidably incident thereto. Perhaps, also, they fall in jeopardy when communities conflict.

But their personal rights are never lawfully invaded by civilized men ; none but savages and robbers have trespassed upon the personal rights of a prisoner of war. These have ever been held sacred.

It is as unnatural to force a fellow-creature to surrender his mind, labor, and liberty, to ourupidity and avarice, as it is to demand his person for unnatural lust.

Cupidity and avarice are in the same category with sodomy ; they are all equally unreasonable, unjust, beastly, brutal, and unnatural.

Many wild animals, the dove and the deer, for example, are timid and innocent : there are other wild animals who prey upon

all other animals, including themselves; but man goes one step farther than any other animal: for he not only uses and devours the bodies of every living thing, but uses and enslaves the souls and bodies of his fellow-man; and, as if maddened to frenzy by this fiendish indulgence, he forges a chain, and hooks it to the leg of every child born from his slave, as if they are not created free in the womb, in the same image, and by the same Almighty power which made Adam from the ground.

Every decent, honest man, with frank spirit, and free soul, will ratify, by impulse, these plain and irrefragable axioms.

Where, then, is the authority, or excuse, for slavery? Nowhere; and there never was a true, disinterested, unprejudiced man, that seriously pretended or claimed for it any sound element of right.

It begins with the open audacity of the cut-throat pirate, who steals and sells his fellow-men; who disclaims and repudiates all morals and all laws; who sinks or swims, lives or dies, upon his hellish lust for gain.

Here, and thus, it all begins; there is no man, however debased, that is not ashamed to avow this fiendish crime. It finds no law or sanction in its origin, and the participants are just as destitute of excuse as the first thieves from whom they obtain their felonious spoils.

It is in vain for them to whine out the sniffling and contemptible sophism of the bandit's son, and that it was cast on them by inheritance.

There is no moral or legal difference between a horse-thief and a kidnapper.

Suppose a slaveholder was innocently to buy a stolen horse, could he pretend to have any better title to him than the original thief had? Certainly not. And where is the distinction in principle between a stolen horse and a stolen man? None, except this, that property may be lawfully held in a dumb beast; whereas, by the laws of nature and of God, no property can be had in a human being.

The speculations upon the mental and animal influences produced by the necessities to which the human race have been exposed are curious and highly interesting.

The distinctions of color will be found to have but little to do with the arrogance and oppression of man towards his fellow-man: ignorance, brutality, and might have alternately swayed the iron sceptre of slavery; and even now, amidst the lights of

reason and religion, power finds for its usurpation abundant excuse and subterfuge in the plausible and plastic prevarications ofupidity.

The January number, 1850, of the *Westminster Review* contains a strong and independent view of this subject.

It is the most radical of all the British reviews, yet its tone, in this article, is singularly mild, candid, and comprehensive. It discusses the entire question of slavery, and the best means of emancipation, and this with a breadth of thought and spirit of world-wide humanity such as we see in few journals on this side of the Atlantic. Yet the positions of the Review would startle what are here called abolitionists. In a word, the Review regards slavery as a transition state, inevitable to a race of lower condition, when brought into collision with one of higher civilization; a state, however, that must cease, either peaceably or by revolution, when the serf reaches a certain point in intellectual progress. It argues this from the history of vassalage in all ages and countries. Against the immediate abolition of slavery, under all circumstances, it takes decided ground, asserting that this is a question to be determined by political and social considerations. On this point, it remarks:—

“In the history of the world, there is no record of any people having existed as a free nation, without having first submitted to the baptism of slavery; and that of some of the nations of Europe is even yet not complete. The serfdom of the Middle Ages still exists among the Selavonic and Sarmatian races. The mass of the people who took part in the late Polish, Galliean, and Hungarian insurrections were serfs, struggling less for constitutional forms of government than for personal liberty. Twenty millions of the population of Russia are serfs. A tradesman at St. Petersburg and Moseow is often a person who pays a license-fee to a nobleman for permission to buy and sell, or divides with his owner the profits of a business.

“In this, there is nothing discouraging to a hopeful philosophy, although much to demonstrate the folly of philanthropic impatience. Slavery is the law of the strongest; and it is only by the law of the strongest that the mind, in its uninformed state, can become disciplined to that obedience to rule and precept which lays the foundation of all government. A child is a slave. However kind its parents, it has to begin life with the duty of submission. Before it acquires the power of self-guidance, it has to resign itself to the guidance of others. The

history of the infancy of nations we may trace in the present state of every barbarous tribe with which the modern spirit of geographical research has made us acquainted. It was that of rude clans of wandering families, continually plundering and fighting, killing, and sometimes eating each other.

“The discovery that prisoners taken in battle might be made useful as servants was the first great advance towards social organization. Out of this grew the discovery of the important results to be achieved by a division of labor and combination of effort ; and out of this, again, grew a knowledge of the arts ; the comforts and luxuries of wealth, and that taste for them which has made the comforts and luxuries, once confined to a few, the property, in civilized communities, of the many ; a village peasant in England being, probably, now often better clothed and lodged than any one of the nine kings who fought together in the vale of Sodom, in the days of Abraham.

“These considerations may suggest a reasonable doubt whether the advocates of sudden and immediate abolition—those who would extinguish slavery at a blow, and who have succeeded in their attempts so to extinguish it in many parts of the world, do not take as fallacious a view of the true interests of humanity as those who, in the opposite extreme, will hear of no compromise of what they call their rights of property, and refuse the slave the power of his own self-redemption.

“There is no relation between the case of a born slave or a born savage, and the citizen of a free state kidnapped by a piratical cruiser and sold into slavery. In the latter case, immediate abolition is the direct and proper means of restoring him the place in society which he is qualified to hold ; the former is that of an ignorant creature, to whom society has been a blank, and whose own resources may utterly fail to prevent his rapidly relapsing into a state of barbarism. We do not change the nature of things by the change of names. We may declare any person free we please, but we do not thereby suddenly infuse into his mind the ideas of a free man, or give him a free man’s aspirations. If slavery, by a miracle, were abolished to-morrow throughout the continent of Africa, are we sure that the slaves emancipated would not, the very next day, begin to make slaves of each other ? What is certain is that the progress of free institutions must always be governed by the process of knowledge ; liberty can only be maintained when its value is appreciated and understood. The

experience of Hayti is conclusive on that point. Hayti has not only been a prey to intestine divisions of the most sanguinary character, but its government has had to embody, in a *code rural*, the severest laws for the suppression of vagrancy; and every trace of free government in that country has now vanished in the despotism of a mock empire."

On the subject of the inferiority of the negro race—a question often mooted—the reviewer appears to take sides with those who hold, as the Bible explicitly asserts, that the human race is descended from one common parent, and that the African and the Caucasian differ only in consequence of having lived, for ages, in different climates, and under different conditions of civilization. He contends, therefore, that the black can in time be rendered as intelligent as the white."

The secret inducement for slavery is the same savage propensity that incites to gluttony, drunkenness, rape, sodomy, rapine, murder, and eating human flesh; and which stimulates parents to denounce their children for crimes, and Burke and strangling them to get them out of their way.

These impulses spring from the brutal and fiendish lust which characterizes the monsters of creation; and which, in this respect, constitutes the connecting link between them and man, as a part of the animal world, and as a part of the mysterious law of affinity and gradation, passing from the Supreme Author of all things down to the most insignificant and minute productions of his infinite wisdom and power.

There is the most elaborate and profound research and learning, interesting history, and curious statistics, together with all the well-settled and acknowledged law upon the subject of slavery, to be found in the Rev. Albert Barnes' *Inquiry into the Scriptural Views of Slavery*; the Rev. Theodore Parker's *Letter to the People of the United States*; and in the case of the Antelope, 10th vol. of Wheaton's Reports of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, page 66; and in the Appendix to said volume.

#### OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

The legal toleration, or permission, to hold slaves in the United States is exclusively controlled by the local laws of the States.

There is no authority for it derived from any expressions in the Constitution.

They are all directly against it, viz.: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."—(Article 4, Section 2 (1).)

"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny, or disparage others retained by the people." (Article 9, Amendments to the Constitution.)

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."—(Ibid., Article 10.)

These are strong and absolute expressions of reservation, exclusive as to things not named, and of restriction as to the things which were named by the Constitution.

The only expressions in it which in any respect refer to this subject obviously and designedly shun the most distant or remote sanction of slavery. They are as follows:—

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers; which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, excluding those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."—(Article 1, Section 2 (3).)

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or a duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding \$10 for each person."—(Section 9.)

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."—(Article 4, Sections 2, 3.)

The right to hold slaves was passed over; and, however repugnant to the free men of the North, that every five slaves should have a vote equal to three free white men, and that too by proxy in the hands of their masters, making now twenty slave representatives in Congress, and twenty electors for President and Vice-President against free white men, still, this too is to be borne.

Congress has no more power to impose or force slavery on a

new State, asking for admission into the Union, than it has to force the Free States to assume and allow slavery.

When the Declaration of Independence was made, Massachusetts held that the words "*all men are created equal*" abolished slavery in that State, "*ipso facto.*" They were undoubtedly right: and this rule of action should have been then adopted by all the States.

It is said that slavery has pernicious morals and social influences upon the master; that it makes him idle, debauched, arrogant, and cruel; and that there cannot be a more thorough aristocrat than a slaveholder. This will not be contradicted, perhaps, by any one not engaged in some way in this degrading business.

Slavery in all its aspects is revolting, and should be abolished.

OF THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TO  
FORBID SLAVERY IN THEIR TERRITORIES AND IN NEW  
STATES.

The people have title to their lands as tenants in fee, and, as inherent to their national power, they have the right to refuse to receive into their political union the inhabitants of any of their lands, and all others who demand fellowship and protection, upon terms which they disapprove.

The omission to abolish slavery in all the States by the Constitution was no precedent for the future affirmation or sanction of slavery. This is demanding for a negative, or an act not done, the force of an act that is done.

If the Slave States had allowed polygamy, and the children of their unlawful wives had been capable of inheritance there, and this had been passed over by the Constitution—when a new State asked for admission into the Union, if it was proposed to curtail it of this oriental indulgence, with the same reason it might be urged that, because the Constitution had not noticed this local immorality, all the States had thereby agreed to approve and allow polygamy, and legitimate bastards. This is absurd.

If the omission to make this objection had continued for sixty years, and had occurred ninety times instead of nine, and thereby nine States with polygamy had been added to the original six Slave States, it would no more be a precedent for fastening a promise, or an obligation, on the other States to

remain neutral, than an omission by any one of the States for sixty years, and until nine or ninety thousand acts of fraud and swindling had been perpetrated within its borders, would bind and oblige such State, not only to omit to forbid such acts, but also bind and obligate it (for this is the slave logic) to tolerate and sanction fraud, and protect and reward swindlers, because these crimes, not being forbidden, were tolerated by the institutions of the complaining State. For example, there are certain acts of deception which were not criminal in any of the States at one time. Within a few years past, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, and perhaps several other of the States, have passed statutes, declaring the fraudulent procurement of property by *any false pretence* to be indictable, and imposing upon the offender a heavy fine and imprisonment. Now suppose the citizen of a State having no such laws should go to a State having them, could he claim to violate the local law of the State forbidding this offence, because it was not forbidden in the State he came from; or could the State he came from demand this indulgence for him from the other State? It is repeated, that the people have the same title to, and power over, their dock-yards, their many vaults, and their ships of war, as they have over their lands; and they have no less over the latter than they have over the former.

The sovereign power of the people, through Congress, over their territory is entire.

This construction has been uniformly acted upon by the people, the States, and the General Government, from the ordinance of 1787, which expressly forbid slavery in the only territory then held by the people; and this prohibition was voted for by every member of that Congress, except one member, and he was a northern delegate.

Upon the occasion of the Missouri Compromise, Mr. Monroe required each member of his cabinet to give a special written opinion upon the constitutional power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories. The opinion of the cabinet, including John C. Calhoun, was unanimous in favor of the power; and, upon the strength of it, the Compromise Act was passed, and approved by President Monroe; by which the people of Missouri were permitted to hold slaves, and slavery was for ever prohibited and excluded from territory sufficient in size to form twenty States.

The same power has also been exercised by numerous acts of Congress, organizing territorial governments, by the recent act organizing the Oregon territory, and by the acknowledged inability of Congress to interfere with the question of slavery in California, because Mexico had abolished slavery in 1837, before that country was ceded by Mexico to the United States, subject to this restriction, just as did pass to the United States the territories under the ordinance of 1787.

This power, by Congress, to forbid slavery in its own territories is clearly proved, and it has at no time been called in question until the winter of 1848-9.

If this power is exposed to any remark, the question might properly be asked, whether in a moral view Congress has any authority to allow slavery in the territories, or to make it lawful anywhere.

Because governments have power to forbid a wrong, it does not follow that they can legalize it. All crimes *mala in se* may be forbidden by the law; this adds nothing to the force of the previous prohibition, except, perhaps, to prescribe a penalty; but it does not follow that the offence is taken out of the statute book of ethics and reason, and that, therefore, it could be sanctioned by legislative enactment.

All our penal codes prohibit murder, arson, and perjury; but they could not allow them.

So, too, with slavery; if it be a crime *malum in se*, and the Bible says so, then, although Congress may forbid it, it has no power to allow it; and that part of the Missouri Compromise was void.

Slavery, therefore, cannot lawfully exist in any of the States or territories of the United States, except the States in which it existed when the confederation was made, and in States since then admitted into the Union, which were made out of territory in which it existed at the time of its acquisition, and by the annexation of slave States, as it was with Texas.

That is to say, that the Constitution of the United States does not empower Congress to create slavery; that the States did not confer upon the central government any authority to extend slavery, or to make it lawful in any place where it did not exist at the time the jurisdiction of this government attached to it; that, on the contrary, the States conferred, negotiated, and confederated upon the subject, as it then stood, so as to secure to the slaveholder the advantages he then had, of

the local right of property to his slave, and of the right for his pursuit and reecapture, together with the ineidental politieal privilege of representation ; and with a distinct prohibition against the importation of slaves after twenty-one years, and no more.

In all this, the Free States have acted with good faith. They consented to the admission of all the States formed from territory aquired from France and Spain with slavery ; and also to the annexation of Texas with slavery, which last-mentioned case was not within the purview of the States when they eonfederated ; and they have gone further, for, however they abhor slavery, they agreed to the Missouri Compromise, which, under the professions of the Free States, was an indefensible coneeession.

It is obvious that these emergeneies did not enter into the minds of the contracting parties to the Union ; beecause nothing was said or written about them in the Constitution, the debates, reports, or conferences ; nor is there the slightest allusion made to them by any one.

The probability is that these contingencies were not in view, or, if so, that it was considered that the ordinance of 1787 covered the whole ground.

This is the rational interpretation of what was then done, and it has at no time been contradicted until free territory was acquired from Mexieo, when the slaveholding politieians advanced the sophism, that slaves were property out of the Slave States, beecause they are property at home, and that the States had no sovereign or politieal power over their after-aquired territory.

This contrivance was got up, as is openly avowed, to seecure the slavers in what they insolently denominate a balance of power in the offices and management of the National Government.

There are advanced for it no reasons founded in morality, humanity, religion, or national good, but it is openly put upon the broad ground of force, without law, to carry slavery and all its admitted curses into lands and over people created free.

So far from these doctrines having been heretofore entertained, it will be found, on reference to the records of the early days of the republie, and to the opinion and judgment of the slaveholders of those times, that the strongest repugnance to slavery, and the most earnest aspirations for its total abolition,

were devoutly entertained by the slaveholders and slavedealers themselves.

On the 20th of October, 1774, six weeks after the Congress of the colonies met at Carpenters' Hall, in Philadelphia, it adopted a stringent resolution against slavery.

On the 6th of July, 1775, in its "*declaration on the right of taking up arms*," Congress proclaimed that GOD never intended that a part of the human race should have absolute property in, and unbounded dominion over others.

The first draft of the Declaralation of Independence by Jefferson contained a distinct repudiation of slavery, which was expunged to conciliate the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia.

In the summer of 1774, several county conventions, at some of which Washington presided, were held in Virginia, which denouuced slavery and the slave trade.

On the 1st day of August, 1774, a convention of all the counties in Virginia was held at Williamsburg, of which Jefferson was a delegate, but from illness was unable to attend, but sent a resolution, which was adopted, condemning slavery and the slave trade.

On the 27th of August, in the same year, a similar convention was held at Newbern, in North Carolina, which adopted a similar resolution. In a letter to Lafayette, of May 10, 1786, Washington said, "The abolition of slavery certainly might and assuredly ought to be effected, and that too by *legislative authority*." In a letter to Robert Morris, of April 12, 1786, he said, "There is not a man living who wishes, more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of slavery; but there is only one proper and effectual mode in which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority." In a letter to John Fenton Mereer, of Sept. 9, 1786, he said, "It is among my wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law." In a letter to Sir John Sinclair, he said, "There are, in Pennsylvania, laws for the gradual abolition of slavery, which neither Maryland nor Virginia have at present, but which nothing is more certain than that they *must have*, and at a period not remote."

To whose patriotism and wisdom is the country most indebted for the adoption of our glorious Constitution? Washington and Madison, slaveholders. Yet these same slaveholders most zealously opposed slavery, and recommended laws

for its abolition. And so did Wythe, Lee, Pendleton, Mason, Patrick Henry, Johnson, Tucker, Tyler, Grayson, Blair, Page, Parker, Innis, Dawson, Randolph, of Virginia; the great Luther Martin, of Maryland; Iredell, Galloway, and others of North Carolina.

And Congress has acted upon the platform established by the ordinance of 1787.

It is to be found in the fourth volume of the House Journals, page 381, second session of seventh Congress, under date of March 2, 1803; it is a case in point. The Territory of Indiana then being under the provisions of the Ordinance of Freedom of 1787, the people of Indiana, through a public meeting, of which William Henry Harrison was President, petitioned that this article of the Ordinance of '87, prohibiting slavery in the territory, might be suspended for a given number of years. The petition was referred to a committee, of which the celebrated John Randolph, of Virginia, was chairman. His report shows what sentiments obtained in Virginia on this subject in 1803:—

“ Mr. Randolph, from the committee to which were referred a letter from William Henry Harrison, President of the Convention held at Vincennes, declaring the consent of the people of Indiana to the suspension of the sixth article of compact between the United States and the people of that territory, also a memorial and petition of the inhabitants of the said territory, made the following report:—

“ That the rapid population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evinces, in the opinion of your committee, that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region; that this labor, demonstrably the dearest of any, can only be employed to advantage in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known to that quarter of the United States; that the committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the Northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and of emigration.

“ From such a consideration as they have been enabled to bestow on the subject at this late period of the session, and

under the pressure of accumulating business, they recommend the following resolution, which is respectfully submitted to the judgment of the House.

*Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to suspend, for a limited time, the operation of the sixth article of compact between the original States and the people and States west of the Ohio."

So too the two great political parties of the country have uniformly recognized this view of the subject as being established.

The Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, that nominated Mr. Polk for President, and the Whig Convention at Philadelphia, that nominated General Taylor for the same office, both adopted this principle.

The same language was used by a Democratic convention of Pennsylvania, held at Pittsburgh on the 4th of July, 1849.

And all these national concessions were openly repeated by Mr. Benton and Mr. Cass on one side, and Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay on the other side, in the Senate of the United States, in 1850.

The entire orthodoxy of this creed was fully acquiesced in, and ratified by the two great political parties, of which these distinguished statesmen are the acknowledged leaders; and no one objected to it in either house of Congress, except the fanatics and factionists.

The following is the resolution referred to above:—

*Resolved*, That the Democratic party adheres now, as it ever has done, to the Constitution of the country. Its letter and spirit they will neither weaken nor destroy; and they re-declare that slavery is a domestic local institution of the South, subject to State law alone, and with which the General Government has nothing to do. Wherever the State law extends its jurisdiction, the local institutions can continue to exist."

To which this convention adds:—

"Esteeming it a violation of State rights to carry it beyond State limits, we deny the power of any citizen to extend the area of bondage beyond its present dominion; nor do we consider it a part of the compromise of the Constitution that slavery should forever travel with the advancing column of our territorial progress."

ARE SLAVES PROPERTY BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE  
UNITED STATES?

IF slaves are property by the local laws of the Slave States, they are not so by the Constitution; the word *slave* or *slavery* is not to be found in that charter; nor are they citizens of the States where they are held.

By the Constitution they are called persons, whenever referred to.

The slaveholders knew the essential importance of the word "*slave*," that it might mean property, and they struggled to the utmost for its adoption into the Constitution; but its use was peremptorily rejected and refused, for the avowed and express purpose of avoiding any national or confederate acknowledgment of the right of property in a human being, and leaving the Slave States to depend entirely upon their local laws for the sole and only sanction to slavery.

Nor is the subject anywhere *acted* upon in the Constitution; it is only referred to there.

In the second paragraph of section second, article first, which directs the appointment of representatives, the words as to this, and in this connection, are, viz. :—

"Representatives shall be apportioned amongst the several States according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, apprentices, and three-fifths of (*not slaves, but*) all other persons."

And it is also referred to in the third clause of the second section of the fourth article, in these words :—

"No person (*instead of no slave*) held to service or labor in any State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor (*not slavery*), but (*not such slave shall be delivered up, but*) such person shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor (*not such slave*) may be due."

Nor are slaves property by the second section of article four of the Constitution, which is:—

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Which would allow a citizen of a Slave State, who came to reside in a Free State, to have all the privileges of such Free State; but not the privileges he had in the Slave State, if they

were not allowed in the Free State; or he could bring with him the privilege to hold and work slaves on farms and in factories, and keep a seraglio, and have his concubines, and their spurious issue, treated as lawful; or he might cheat and swindle, if these things were allowed in the Slave States, in defiance of the laws of a State forbidding these things, and also in defiance of the express reservations in the tenth article of the amendments to the Constitution to each State, namely—

“That the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.”

Which obviously means that the *States*, or the people, may do anything they choose to do, that they have not consented and agreed that the United States government may do for them; or which they have covenanted and agreed shall not be done by any one; and, as they did not agree that the United States government might make laws to allow slavery, and did not agree that this should not be done, it is conclusive that each State has a right, so far as the Constitution is concerned, to allow or forbid it; and that “*the people of all the States*,” as a nation or a state, have the same right to forbid and expunge from their whole dominions, slavery, as much as they have a right to forbid bigamy and swindling.

These direct conclusions are not to be overcome by the assertion that the words “*privileges and immunities*” imply and mean slaves in the sense in which these words are here used; for the definition of the word *slave*, perhaps, is property; and it has been shown that its use, therefore, was for this reason denied by the Constitution, without a blink.

These words “*privileges and immunities*” are used in the Constitution in a political sense, referring to the rights of protection, suffrage, office, inheritance, &c., and not in a commercial or business sense.

One State might allow, without license, peddlers, lawyers, doctors, lotteries, taverns, and theatres; in all which, their citizens would have a lawful property; and another State might restrict them.

A Free State might allow the printing and publication of books and pictures against slavery, in which the owner, while he remained in a Free State, would most clearly have property, as much as he would have in his coat or his watch; for which he could maintain all civil actions; and the fraudulent taking

of which might be larceny ; and if he carried them to a Slave State, they might there be obnoxious to the local laws, and seized and burned by the common hangman, and the owner imprisoned, whipped, and branded.

This has been done very often ; and no citizen of a Free State ever pretended to sympathize with the sufferer, because he had thereby been abridged of his "*privileges and immunities*" as a citizen of another State.

Moreover, these words, "*privileges and immunities*," do not mean property.

It is utterly denied that they have ever had such a definition by any lexicographer.

The interpretation of "*privilege*" is, a special favor given to a man to do something *more* than others may do ; and an "*immunity*" is to excuse him from doing something which all men must do.

The whole theory of the opposite side, it is avowed, entirely rests upon inferences, constructions, and implications ; they do not pretend that there is anything in direct terms in the Constitution to support their views ; or that Congress, representing the entire body of the people, has ever, by indirection, acquiescence, or tacit laches, or in any way acknowledged, or recognized, slaves to be property.

On the contrary, this very point was distinctly brought up, immediately after the opening of the first Congress, which met on the 4th of March, 1789, after the adoption of the Constitution. (*Conrad's Biography*, 172.)

Mr. Parker, a member from Virginia, who professed to deplore the evils of slavery, made an effort to discontinue the importation of slaves, by moving the insertion of a clause in the impost bill, then under consideration, imposing a duty of ten dollars on each imported slave.

Congress had no power to prohibit the importation of slaves, until after the expiration of twenty-one years ; but the first clause of the ninth section of the first article, it is seen, authorized the imposition of a duty on them, not exceeding ten dollars.

And thus, by imposing this duty of ten dollars, it was sought to discourage this traffic, which Congress had not power to interdict and abolish until after 1808.

The ostensible object was humanity ; perhaps the mover was sincere ; and, perhaps, this ten dollar duty clause found its way

into the Constitution to accommodate this experiment; at any rate, the motion was constitutional.

But this Southern trick, if it was a trick, could not escape the sagacity of Mr. Sherman, and many members of Congress, who had just come from the convention that framed the Constitution.

They very well knew the understanding with which the guarded expressions referred to had been used.

They objected to Mr. Parker's motion, upon the ground that slaves were not property.

That the Constitution had wholly and absolutely rejected and denied this proposition, and that Mr. Parker's motion, by imposing a duty on slaves, as if property, involved a covert reconciliation of this broad and irrefragable principle, that they were not property.

An argument so consistent, astute, and unanswerable obtained a signal triumph; and the motion was instantly voted down by forty-three to eleven votes.

This early, rigid, and prompt rebuke of an attempt, whether by design or not, to draw the nation into an implied acknowledgment that slaves are property, has been, ever since then, most carefully avoided by the advocates of slavery.

In all their eloquent and mournful appeals to the North, they have nowhere stopped at or made this a starting-point; and if there had afterwards been in Congress the same sturdy resolution and honest patriotism which distinguished and adorned the names and services of Roger Sherman and his compatriots of the Revolution, and of the doubtful struggles for the Union, the slavedrivers would not have put this corroding blot upon nine more States, and held the power to taunt a few of the servile and truckling representatives of the Free States, who voted against, or skulked from voting for, the good old North Western Territory restriction, with the ignominious insult of being "*dough faces*."

Besides, in 1789, only two years after the adoption of the Constitution, and after this distinct and overwhelming majority was demonstrated against the motion made by Mr. Parker, to wit, on the 25th of September, 1789, and December 15th, 1791, and January 8th, 1798, and December 12th, 1803, on which occasions Congress made additions to the Constitution; all of which were announced by the Secretary of State, on the 25th day of September, 1804, to be ratified; and long after,

when there had been a blunt, constitutional, and congressional denial, that slaves were property, and that no words had been used in the Constitution or by Congress, with that intention. And the fact, and the inference that they were to be legally or constitutionally regarded as property, had both been openly and designedly rejected. After all this special pleading, met by a broad, technical demurrer, and direct judgment, solemnly entered against them without a *respondeat ouster*, or leave to renew their pleadings—why, it is asked, did not the slaveholders then propose the adoption of such express words as would test and settle this matter, if any doubts remained upon this absurd question of pretended construction and interpretation?

And since then, now some sixty years, why have they not come up straightforward to the mark, and claimed to have these alleged inferences and interpretations put down affirmatively and in form, by way of addition to the national charter?

This has not been attempted; and, if the experiment were tried, the result would show a defeat by votes, as signal as their theory is legally and logically false.

These are all the constitutional authorities relied on, or invoked, by the slaveholders.

Slaves cannot, therefore, be held and regarded as property and chattels by the laws of the United States, and, as such, taken into a territory belonging to the people of the United States, without their consent, any more than they can be thus taken into a Free State, and any more than the government of the United States can force an individual State to do a thing not provided for by the express terms of the federal compact.

#### OF THE RECENT THEORIES AS TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL POWER OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OVER THEIR TERRITORIES, AND AS TO THE ADMISSION OF NEW STATES INTO THE UNION.

The abstract and practical law upon the subject of slavery in the United States, it is believed, has been fully stated.

But a party has sprung up, who call in question that part of this argument which so plainly establishes the political power, as well as the right of property, of the people of the United States over their territories.

They began by contending that the right to hold slaves belongs exclusively to the people of each State, and that the people of all the States have nothing to do with it; that,

although the whole people may have title to the land, from which a new State is formed, their political power does not extend over it, so as to authorize them, in the organization of a territorial government, to forbid slavery; but that this question is political and personal, and should be left to the choice of the people of the territories, as it was left to the people of the original States, by the Constitution.

There is much apparent plausibility in this argument; but there is not enough to counterbalance the weight of the precedents established by the people, as is before stated.

Besides, it does not follow that, because the original States thought proper to unite, without rejecting slavery, the people of these States, in their aggregate capacity, are bound to admit new States into the Union upon the same footing; they might, perhaps, refuse to receive them altogether.

The language of the Constitution is not imperative. The third section of the 4th article provides that "*new States may be admitted into the Union;*" the word is *may*, not *shall*.

Suppose Cuba, Mexieo, or any of the South American States, or the Canadas, were to ask for admission, we should not be required to admit them at all, unless we chose; much less upon the original terms of the confederation, if experience had established the manifest impolicey or impropriety of doing so: or, if we had discovered that our family was sufficiently large, and that its members could not be conveniently increased, we might reject the proposal; it is wholly a matter of option with ourselves.

For example, would it not be equitable and just to demand from these foreign applicants contributions in money or land equivalent to their proportion of the exposure, expense, and wars, by which our institutions have been achieved, and the cost of our great national improvements, munitions, and domain? or does it follow that, because the original States left open the question of marriage, and therefore permitted any member of that compact to legalize concubinage, we should not have a clear, moral right to say, even if any of the old States had tolerated this pollution, which they now all have the right to do, that, although this infamy must be borne with by the old States, and that the emergencies of the Union demanded this concession then, its allowance should not now be conceded to a new State?

If the applicants contended that there is as much reason in

allowing them, as an old State, to perpetrate this, or any other wrong, the obvious answer would be, the first compact was a matter of compromise, if not of impelling necessity ; whereas, the admission of a new State, with power to practice wrong, is not necessary ; was not stipulated for by the Constitution, and that it never was so understood ; and, on the contrary, as to slavery, that the people struggled to provide for its abolition by the Constitution ; that it was expected that the States would abolish it, one by one, until it should be finally extinguished, as is manifest by the express provision in the Constitution, by which a limit was fixed to the importation of slaves.

Again : the Constitution leaves open to the old States the entire local power upon the subject of education ; it tolerates all religions, and forbids religious tests ; but it does not require or demand the observance of religion, or of the Sabbath day.

Now suppose any of these old States should prohibit education, as some of them have done to their slaves, forbid the observance of the Sabbath day, and of all religious worship, as they have the power to do, so far as respects the Constitution ; is it possible that a majority of the people of the States might not, in self-defence, refuse to consort with States practicing or proposing to practice such profanities, or that they would not have a right to make it a condition precedent to their political fraternity, that they should not license such paganism ?

No one, not even slaveholders, would call in question the justice and propriety of this precaution, upon the ground of self-preservation alone, independent of the high moral impositions of public duty, and the guardianship of general morals.

Well, then, suppose a majority of the people, having no sinister motives, but acting upon a solemn sense of duty, and as evidence of their sincerity, abolish and give up the pecuniary advantages of slavery, deliberately resolve and avow it to be their conscientious belief that slavery is forbidden by the laws of nature and of God ; must it not then be regarded as much a subject of popular and legitimate objection as those already mentioned ? and is it competent for the minority to deny or prevent the application or employment of this rule of action for settling the dispute, any more than in any other case which must be determined by the public voice ? And can it be allowed that a minority shall thus trample into the ground all the laws by which freemen are governed, without one argument or

reason in support of their usurpation, except that which is founded in cupidity and power?

When some of the more honest and enlightened of this party, and some of the liberally disposed from the North, most generously proposed to waive these settled rules of law, to let them have their own way, and that this question of slavery should be left open for the action of the people of the territories, they readily agreed to it; but when the people inhabiting California, a part of the public domain, offered themselves with a constitution for admission into the Union, with a restriction against slavery, in which application they were backed by President Taylor, they were told, in the House of Representatives, January 30th, 1850, by Mr. Brown of Mississippi, that "*they have no right to make a State Constitution, because they are not citizens of the United States; and that they are trespassers and interlopers;*" that they must wait, and go through a process of Congressional territorialization, in which they will agitate and convulse the country by the convocation of a convention to dissolve the Union.

There is just about as much reason and justice for this cause in refusing to recognize the confederate aspirations of California, or any other new State, as there would be in putting out of the Union every State that has abolished slavery; or as there would be to hold that a true interpretation of the national compact forbids any of the States to abolish slavery.

Perhaps the names, nativity, occupations, and citizenship of the hundreds of thousands of men of the best blood and stock from the old States who have emigrated to the shores of the Pacific, and who are known to be the projectors and founders of this new State, are as extensively and favorably known to their countrymen and to the world as are the names and heritage of some of their impudent defamers.

Their self-denial, patient toil, manly independence, perilous enterprise, and proud proclamation for freedom and equal rights in that distant land, will triumphantly compare with the selfish apathy of being subsisted by slaves, the inhumanity of vindicating its further toleration, the absurdity of contradicting its infamy, the injustice of attempting to force it upon others, and the hollow patriotism which scoffs at liberty and even-handed right, and profanely threatens the national fraternity, for no reason but that the industrious sons of freedom proudly choose to till the ground with their own hands, refuse to work and

consort with negroes, and scorn to live in laziness and sloth off of slave labor.

It has been shown that there is no constitutional recognition of property in slaves, or natural implication thereof, by the use of the words "*privileges and immunities* ;" and that Congress, representing the people, has a right to forbid slavery in the territories belonging to the people; this should not be denied. This whole question was settled by the ordinance of 1787; and when the Missouri question was up, this was not denied by the honest statesmen of the country.

The concession then made was liberal and specific; and then it was supposed this matter was ended; and there it should have been dropped, and not one word should have again been said by either side upon the subject. The Wilmot Proviso levels its force at an obsolete idea; every man of intelligence saw and so treated it—and felt that, like anti-masonry, free soil, and amalgamation, it was a short-sighted and unnecessary demand, intended for political effect, and to irritate and chafe the feelings of the Slave States. It was ungenerous to introduce it; and it was pressed with provoking and wanton indecorum.

It is now treated as a new matter; whereas, it is nothing but the old ordinance; the elements and the purposes of which were far better understood then than the political gladiators in these times, it would seem, are willing to appreciate any public measure.

#### HAS CONGRESS OR THE PEOPLE ANY POWER OVER SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA?

There is a wide difference between the power of the whole people over their territories, and that which they have over the District of Columbia.

That District was ceded by Virginia and Maryland for government buildings, and their necessary and appurtenant accommodations; this was the understanding; it was not expected that any authority should be held over it, except that which is incident to these objects. Virginia has taken back her part.

Slavery was a local right before this grant, and it went with it without objection, as did the other local laws of the District, which have been continued under this cession, upon the same ground that slavery has been held not to have gone with New Mexico to the United States, and that it remained with the several States under the confederation.

It is a part of the common law of the District, which belongs to the people of that District, and which Congress never had any power granted to them to change or alter.

Moreover, it is said that a provision to meet this contingency was moved in the Legislatures of Maryland and Virginia, both, at the time these bodies passed the resolutions of cession to the United States for the District of Columbia, and that the motions were withdrawn, upon the general exclamation that it was wholly supererogatory and unnecessary.

This subject was therefore well understood at that time, and if the United States were not disposed to accept the grant with this concession, they should have objected then.

It is too late now Congress has no more power to interfere with this local privilege than it has to go over the line into either State, and attempt the same usurpation of it there.

And it is as gross an act of indecency in Congress to agitate or meddle with it in the District as it would be to interfere with slavery in Maryland; and this was not thought of until 1835.

The pretext that the representatives from the Free States are shocked by the chains and handcuffs of the slavedrivers is mawkish and absurd. It is a shallow subterfuge for political effect; most of the slavedealers and slavedrivers are renegades from the Free States; the respectable inhabitants of the South are above this degrading employment; and if the delicacy of the Northern members is so refined as to be disturbed by these exposures, why did they accept the cession, and establish the seat of government there? They knew all this then as well as now; and if it is too revolting to be endured, why not remove the Capitol to a more genial location? They have the votes and the power, and in this they can lawfully act; but, in the project of abolishing slavery in that District, they have no lawful power; and this repeated and persevering agitation of this subject is unmanly and indecent.

The South are in this way provoked, taunted, jeered at, and perpetually insulted; and they have just as much right to resent these wanton affronts as the Yankees had to snub George the Third, and his impudent tariff, by mobbing into the sea a ship-load of foreign produce.

Suppose the seat of government were removed to Philadelphia. With what grace could the Southern members reeliminate these oppugnations upon our infamous and ruinous corpo-

ration monopolies; our stock-jobbing trickery; our note-shaving, usury, and extortion; the pernicious influencees of factory employment upon the morals and minds of females, so resolutely and stoutly contended for by us some few years ago, when we were infatuated with the manly and romantic pursuits of agriculture and commerce—so eloquent in exposing the squalid and degraded condition of these subjects of sordid oppression in England; our purse-proud and grasping manufacturing adventurers, who hypocritically impose upon the sympathies and patriotism of the people, and thereby obtain unjust duties, prohibitions, and encouragement, and then grind the poor by incessant toil, and mean and scanty wages—and when they revolt from oppression and hunger, indict and infamously punish and degrade them by penitentiary incarceration! How we preach and prate of law, order, and liberty, amidst unrestrained mobs, atrocious murders, demoniac riots, insurrection, conflagration, and civil war!

Suppose they should impertinently propose that Congress should pass laws to bring these repulsive objects to a corresponding level with the alleged proprieties of the South in these respects, and encourage their constituents to flood Congress with petitions from fanatics, and insolent resolutions of political theorists, of the legislatures of the States, insulting, annoying, and irritating the members from the Free States upon subjects known to be wholly and exclusively out of the sphere of national legislation; would not this be as consistent and proper as the conduct now practiced on them?—and how would the North stand to be such a butt?

These things are all wrong, unbecoming, disgraceful, and wholly inexcusable; and are felt and acknowledged by all honest, intelligent, and respectable portions of the community as wholly indefensible, and a grievous reproach to the integrity of the national compact.

#### OF THE FORCE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COVENANT AS TO FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The States agreed, by the 2d section of the 4th article of the Constitution, that fugitive slaves, escaping from any State into another State, "*shall be delivered up*" to the owner. This is not denied, nor is it to be denied that this duty is incumbent on the authorities of the State.

While this contract is in force, they have no right to with-  
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hold their ready and cordial acquiescence to it, any more than they have a right to refuse to surrender criminal fugitives from justice. The constitutional provision is the same for both, and no one has ever thought of sheltering a criminal from another State, or of circumventing his arrest, or molesting his pursuers.

It is no answer, that riot and disorder come from the recapture of fugitive slaves, or that it is disagreeable to magistrates to order them back to their masters; the States have undertaken to do it, and they and their judges should do so, with a readiness that becomes the character of proud and energetic freemen, which they profess to be, and with a stringent police, that would preserve the peace, and insure the redemption of this voluntary covenant, made upon a good and *bonâ fide* consideration, with a full knowledge of all their rights.

If they are tired of it, let them compromise for, or buy it out; but, while the bond is in full force, they should keep it in good faith, like true men, and not, like gamesters and knaves, attempt to shrink from, evile about, and repudiate it.

If a majority of the people of the Free States, having given the experiment a fair trial, are irreconcilably averse to future consort with the Slave States, let them propose a separation, instead of bullying the Slave States out of the Union. They came together in peace, and let them so part, if they cannot agree. It was a trial, a compromise made against doubtful and adverse interests, without any certainty of success, but with obvious urgencies for the compact, and a most solemn pledge for true fellowship, mutual forbearance, and good faith. It was negotiated for in a spirit of concession, harmony, and courtesy, by men of business, education, intelligence, experience, and honor. They appreciated and ratified its utility, lived out their lives under its conservative protection, and died with devout aspirations to Heaven for its prosperity. Almost three generations have participated in its fruits; and the hope was indulged that the duration of a legacy, which cost so much, would end only with time. The scene has not changed; slavery is no worse now than it then was. But, in these modern days, a new and refined philanthropy has dawned upon the minds of men. The mental conflicts, moral expediencies, political necessities, and sincere patriotism of our fathers are wholly forgotten. It is demanded that the compact, made by the wisdom of those who travailed with anguish that cannot be again endured, shall be repudiated; that the whole agony shall be gone

over; that domestic slavery, which was then compromised for Northern tonnage, the abrogation of slave importation, with a mutual agreement to leave the rest to the conscience of man for its final abolition, with a solemn covenant there to let it forever rest, shall be re-debated in terms of vulgar abuse and profane scurrility, as if the subject had not been thoroughly understood, and forever settled, more than seventy years ago; or as if the South had fraudulently concealed it, and now it was first discovered; and also as if they were now trying to force it upon the States which had abolished it. There can be no greater inconsistency or injustice than this; and its toleration is a burning shame and an infamous reproach to the intelligence and integrity of the nation.

Under this last-recited provision of the Constitution, Congress enacted, February 12th, 1793, chap. 51, sec. 7, that the owner of fugitive slaves shall be empowered to seize or arrest and take them before any judge of the United States, in the State in which they are found, or before any magistrate of the State; whose duty it shall be, on due proof thereof, to certify the same to the owner; which certificate shall be a sufficient warrant for removing them back to the State from whence they fled.

The fourth section imposes a penalty of \$500 upon any one who shall harbor, conceal, or rescue such fugitive slaves.

This law was obviously imperfect in two respects: it required that the claimant should formally institute his demand before a judge of the United States, who might not be in the State; or before a magistrate of the State, who might refuse to act; and it gave a penalty of \$500 against the abettors of the fugitives, which might be no adequate equivalent for the value of the slave, and cannot be lawfully substituted for an abstract right, imperatively and expressly made by the Constitution, in the way of which there should not be thrown any obstacle, and a slur or dodge of which is an unqualified wrong.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in *Prigg v. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 16 Peters' Reports, 539, ruled that the State magistrates were not bound to obey this act of Congress, and that Congress has the exclusive power to pass laws for carrying out this provision of the Constitution. It also ruled that the owner of a slave, under this clause in the Constitution, is clothed with the same authority in every State of the Union, to seize and recapture his slave in any State to

whichh he has escaped or fled, that he has in the State from whichh he has escaped, without the intervention or co-operation of any State or national aid ; and that this clause in the Constitution may properly be said to execute itself, and to require no aid from legislation, state or national ; and that the 1st section of the act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, of March 25th, 1826, whichh declares the removal of a slave from Pennsylvania without judicial aid to be kidnapping, and whichh proposes to punish as a public offense against the State the act of seizing and removing a slave by his master, which the Constitution of the United States was designed to justify and uphold, to be unconstitutional and void.

It will be seen by this how this clause in the Constitution has been treated as a mockery, and how much cause of complaint the Slave States have on this ground, independent of the annoyance to whichh they are perpetually subjected by abolition petitions, resolutions, pamphlets, and inflammatory speeches, in and out of Congress.

This kidnapping law of Pennsylvania was a reproach to the State ; the indulgence of the spirit in whichh it was conceived had a direct tendency to depress the standard of public integrity, and to degrade the morals of the community.

What can be expected of individuals, when governments disregard their contracts ?

This covenant in the Constitution about fugitive slaves was one of the articles of a treaty of amity and union deliberately negotiated and solemnly agreed upon between thirteen sovereign and independent States, by whichh they became mutual contracting parties ; and upon its basis the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, as early as 1819, was called to vindicate the Slave States against the repeated interventions of the fanatics and factions by deciding, to wit :—

1st. That fugitive slaves must be delivered up to their masters upon a summary *claim*, without the delay or favor of a trial by jury.

2d. That no writ of *habeas corpus* or *homine replegiando* would lie for a fugitive slave ; and

3d. That in this respect they were placed by the Constitution upon a footing with fugitives from criminal justice, who are to be returned back to the State from whichh they flee, and there (not in a foreign State) prosecute their right to be discharged according to law.

(*Commonwealth v. Deacon, Keeper, &c.*, 5 Sergeant &

Rawle's Repts., page 62; and 7 Smith's Laws of Pennsylvania, 287, note.)

This was the Constitution and its judieial construction from 1787 down to 1826, when the Legislature of Pennsylvania flew into the face of the federal compact, and enacted the law which, it is seen, the Supreme Court of the United States, in Prigg's case, ruled to be unconstitutional and void; after then, on the 3d of March, 1847, the Legislature of Pennsylvania repealed this "*void*" law, and enacted another equally covert and ill tempered. They forbade all their judges and magistrates to take jurisdiction of any fugitive slave, under penalty of impeachment and a fine of \$1000, and imposed a fine of \$1000 and three months' imprisonment upon any person who should violently or tumultuously seize any fugitive slave—as if it could be done in Pennsylvania without force, and the instant raising of a mob; and shut their prisons against all slaves, unless committed by a judge of the United States.

Of course every runaway slave will *not* be beekoned over into Pennsylvania, at least two hundred miles from a United States judge.

They also enacted that a writ of habeas corpus might *be issued for a fugitive slave.*

Thus nullifying the decisions of their own Supreme Court, and throwing in the way of the clause of the Constitution every possible obstruction.

In 1850, all sides began to get ashamed of these unblushing acts of bad faith; immense town-meetings were held in Philadelphia, at which the leaders bellowed and vaporized about the sacred union; a joint resolution of the same character was reported in the Senate at Harrisburg; and Governor Johnston joined in the faree by a message, couched in terms ofensurable severity, against the Supreme Court of the United States, for their decision in Prigg's case, in which he rudely impugns the motives of the court; and concludes by an elaborate and sophistical vindication of these Pennsylvania statutes and a caustic reprimand upon the Southern States. Governor Johnston was most justly rebuked by the act of Congress, soon after those passed upon the subject of fugitive slaves.

Pennsylvania is not alone in these acts of unkindness and double-dealing; other States have united in the same course of unwarrantable intervention; and perhaps it would be more consistent with their lofty pretensions to honesty and patriotism,

if they were in the first place to repeal all these obnoxious violations of the Constitution, and afterwards preach sermons about the golden bonds of the Union, and palsying the tongues and arms of those who rightfully demand faith or dissolution.

They have all been most properly humiliated for their temerity, in being compelled to submit to the passage of a law by Congress, by which the strong arm of the Central Government is hereafter to be employed in capturing fugitive slaves and returning them to their lawful owners; a duty they should have cheerfully performed themselves, as they promised to do by the Constitution, instead of throwing dogged and unmanly obstacles in its way.

Daniel Webster, in a letter to his friends, at Newburyport, in 1850, on this subject, remarks:—

“Now, the counterpart of the ‘agitation’ presents an equally singular and striking aspect in the fact that the greatest clamor and outcry have been raised against the cruelty and enormity of the reclamation of slaves in quarters where no such reclamation has ever been made, or, if ever made, the instances are so exceedingly few and far between as to have escaped general knowledge. New England, it is well known, is the chosen seat of the abolition presses and the abolition societies. Here it is, principally, that the former cheer the morning by full columns of lamentations over the fate of human beings free by nature, and by a law above the Constitution.

“It is well to inquire what foundation there is for all this rhapsody of opinion, and all this violence in conduct. What and how many are the instances of the seizure of fugitive slaves which these persons have seen, or which have happened in New England in their time? To ascertain the truth in this respect I have made diligent inquiry of members of Congress from the six New England States.

“The result, then, of all I can learn is this: No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave has ever been made in Maine. No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave has ever been made in New Hampshire. No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave has ever been made in Vermont. No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave has ever been made in Rhode Island within the last thirty years. No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave is known to have been made in Connecticut, except one about twenty-five years ago, and in that case the negro was immediately discharged for want of proof of identity. Some instances of the seizure of alleged

fugitive slaves are known to have occurred in this generation in Massachusetts; but, except one, their number and their history are uncertain; that one took place in Boston twelve or fifteen years ago; and in that case some charitably disposed persons offered the owner a sum of money which he regarded as less than half the value of the slave, but which he agreed to accept, and the negro was discharged.

“ If this be a true account of all that has happened in New England, within the last thirty years, respecting the arrest of fugitive slaves, what is there to justify the passionate appeals, the vehement and empty declamations, the wild and fantastic conduct, of both men and women, which have so long disturbed and so much disgraced the country? What is there especially that should induce public men to break loose from all just restraint, fall themselves into the merest vagaries, and fan, with what they call eloquence, the fires, ever ready to kindle, of popular prejudice and popular excitement? I suspect all this to be the effect of that wandering and vagrant philanthropy which disturbs and annoys all that is present, in time or place, by heating the imagination on subjects distant, remote, and uncertain.

“ It is admitted, on all hands, that the necessity for any legal provision for the reclaiming of fugitive slaves is a misfortune and an evil; as it is admitted by nearly all that slavery itself is a misfortune and an evil. And there are States in which the evil attending these reclamations is particularly felt. But where the evil really exists, there is comparatively little complaint, and no excitement.

“ Does not every sober-minded and patriotic man see the necessity, and feel the duty, of rebuking that spirit of faction and disunion, that spirit of discord, and of crimination and recrimination, that spirit that loves angry controversy, and loves it, most especially, when evils are imaginary and dangers unreal, which has been so actively employed in doing mischief, and which, it is to be lamented, has received countenance and encouragement in quarters whence better things were looked for?”

It is unreasonable now to attempt an arbitrary reformation.

This evil was compromised for by the Constitution; and whether the North like or dislike it, they have agreed to submit to it.

Under this bargain, it is said that the interests of the South

have increased in value to the amount of sixteen hundred millions of dollars in slaves.

There is no interest to this extent in stocks, manufactories, or commerce, or anything else held by the North, the menace of which by the South would not instantly rouse the whole North to arms.

#### REMEDY.

1st. The Wilmot Proviso, and all similar projects, should be abandoned. They are inexpedient and unnecessary, and will be superseded by events that will do more for the cause of freedom than was ever dreamed of by abolitionists and free soilers.

2d. All petitions, motions, and speeches about slavery in the District of Columbia, except to stop its exposure in chains and at auction, should be stopped; and all attempts to agitate these subjects should be silenced by a resolution of Congress.

3d. In order to establish a uniform rule of action for all the States against fugitive slaves, and to supersede the want of the will or the power of the individual States to carry out this constitutional pledge about fugitive slaves, Congress should pass a law, containing the most explicit and efficient remedy for the capture and return of runaway slaves by the judicial, and, if necessary, the military power of the General Government. Both are constantly used to enforce the collection of duties upon foreign importations for the benefit of all the States; and why not use them for the benefit and protection of the acknowledged and constitutional rights of the individual States?

The owners of fugitive slaves cannot carry the power of their own States into another State. If they are to submit to this wrong, this deliberate breach of the national compact, without indemnity, they might as well surrender any other or all their rights. The refusal to do them justice in this respect is a sufficient moral and legal ground of resistance, as much as were the causes that began the revolt of the old colonies.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### CITIES.

Extracts—Poverty—Crime—Banks—Corporations—Monopolies—Newspapers—Morals—Origin—Draymen—Examples—Prisons—Conspiracies—Luxury—Dress—Chances—Tricks—Hypocrisy—Adventurers—Banks—Courts—Corruption—Arrogance—Gambling—Stock-jobbing—Cases—Dram-shops—Slave-pen—Pillory—Whipping-post—Labor—Husbandry—Cities dangerous—To be watched—Farms—Rural life—Peace—Liberty.

“THE race always deteriorates *in cities*—distinguished families disappear in a few generations; and but for continual supplies of the elements of the physical, intellectual, and moral character from *the country*, would soon sink to the lowest effeminacy, and the easy conquest of any savage horde.”—*Tracts for the People*.

“There are now (July, 1849) in Paris 95,179 persons in absolute misery from poverty, and 299,387 receiving relief from the government, making nearly 400,000 persons in Paris in a destitute condition.”

### ARISTOCRACY OF TRADE—PRONENESS OF TRADESMEN TO DISAFFECTION.

“Great capital cities, when rebellion is upon pretence of grievances, must needs be of the rebel party, because the grievances are but taxes, to which citizens, that is, merchants, whose profession is their private gain, are naturally mortal enemies; their only glory being to grow excessively rich by buying and selling.

“B. But they are said to be of all callings the most beneficial to the commonwealth, by setting the poorer sort of people to work.

“A. That is to say, by making poor people sell their labor to them at their own prices. So that poor people, for the most part, might get a better living by working in Bridewell, than by spinning, weaving, and other such labor as they can

do ; saving that by working slightly they may help themselves a little, to the disgrace of our manufacture. And as most commonly they are the first encouragers of rebellion, presuming of their strength, so also are they, for the most part, the first to repent, deceived by them that command their strength."—*HOBSES, Behemoth.*

Cities are the hotbeds of crime, poverty, physical and moral degeneration ; the nurseries of arrogant and brutal aristocracies, where the combined skill of the worst men is concentrated for legalizing plots and schemes for plunder.

It is a sphere where they can, with impunity, form conspiracies, and give each other employment, countenance, and shelter.

And it is a question of much doubt, whether any of the demonstrations peculiar to cities offered results of substantial utility.

Their conventions, banks, trade, and newspapers present gigantic displays of grandeur to the uninitiated beholder ; but they are all got up by sinister combinations to dazzle and deceive.

Their convocations, ostensibly benevolent, are generally masks and subterfuges for intrigue and corruption.

Their banks and corporations gilded screens for cunning rogues and reckless knaves.

Their commerce, a pompous system of vulgar jobbing, by sordid and ignorant hucksters.

And their newspapers have become so profligate that no dependence can be placed upon their publications.

Foreign, local, legislative, judicial, and other news is carefully suppressed and maliciously perverted, if sinister motives unite ; while ignorance, cowardice, treachery, and brutal violence teem like a smoking pestilence from their degraded columns.

There are a few refreshing exceptions to this just condemnation of the city newspapers ; and those not included, with very many country papers, and other respectable periodicals, pour out upon the people floods of living waters from the pure fountains of knowledge and intellect.

In every city there is one or more scurrilous and obscene vehicles, in which the names, families, and pursuits of respectable persons are paragraphed with the most insolent and audacious familiarity.

Hundreds of ignorant and base-born miscreants, under pre-

tence of obtaining useful information, prowl about, spy and pimp for, and catch up trifling incidents, from which to make and publish the most detestable and brutal calumnies.

The toleration given to the press by the law is infamously and boldly prostituted to the vilest purposes of abuse and libel; these scandalous and polluted sheets seldom outlive the brief impulses for existence of their debauched and beggarly authors.

In 1788, Dr. Rush wrote a letter to Mr. Brown, the editor of the *Federal Union*, giving him directions how to conduct a newspaper in such a manner as to make it innocent, useful, and entertaining, viz. :—

“Never suffer your paper to be a vehicle of private scandal or of personal disputes. If the faults of public officers are exposed, let it be done with decency. No man has a right to attack the vices or follies of private citizens in a newspaper. Should you, under a false idea of preserving the liberty of the press, lay open the secrets of families, and thereby wound female honor and delicacy, I hope our legislature will repeal the law that relates to assault and battery, and that the liberty of the bludgeon will be as sacred and universal in Pennsylvania as your liberty of the press.

“Never publish an article in your paper that you would not wish your wife or daughter (if you have any) should read or understand.

“The less you publish about yourself the better. What have your readers to do with the neglects or insults that are offered to you by your fellow-citizens? If a printer offends you, attack him in your paper, because he can defend himself with the same weapons with which you wound him. Type against type is fair play!” Dr. Rush enlarges upon this, and then says: “If you had been in twenty Bunker’s Hill battles, instead of one, and had fought forty duels into the bargain, and were afterwards to revenge an affront upon a man who was not a printer, in a newspaper, I would not believe that you possessed a particle of true courage.

“Let the advancement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce be the principal objects of your paper. A receipt to destroy the insects that feed upon turnips, or to prevent the rot in sheep, will be more useful, in America, than all the inventions for destroying the human species, which so often fill the columns of European newspapers.”

Every respectable and intelligent person will ratify the obvious propriety and justice of these instructions.

The contrast between what the character of the newspapers should be and formerly was, and what it now is, is perhaps more striking than any change wrought out by the free institutions of the United States.

Political intrigue with all parties places very few upon the bench but ignorant, driveling factionists, without means or independence. They hold the newspapers in dread, and when convictions for the most gross libels are had, the courts are afraid to punish the culprits.

Instead of pronouncing inflictions for false and malignant libels by heavy fines and imprisonment, such as would vindicate the public peace, petty fines of \$10 have been imposed upon flagrant culprits; and persons who have had no confidence in redress by the court, and have been insufferably outraged, having moderately flagellated the cowardly miscreants, have been convicted for riots and battery, insolently preached to by the courts about the freedom of the press, the horrors of insurrection, the frightful treason of taking the law into their own hands, and condemned to oppressive fines, and ignominious and long imprisonments.

These are a few of the fungous fruits of politics, city depravity, and the glorious freedom of the press.

“ All the finer springs of pleasure dry up and decay in the intense joys of crowded cities; and the warm emanations of the heart become cold and torpid.”

ZIMMERMAN.

Public opinion, that great lever of moral power, controlling all classes in the rural districts, and assigning to every one his just position, cannot be brought to bear in large cities upon any vice, however obnoxious.

Cities encourage the most morbid appetite for marvelous and ostentatious prodigality.

#### LOVE OF THE WONDERFUL.

“ For, what stronger pleasure is there with mankind, or what do they earlier learn, or longer retain, than *the love of hearing and relating things strange and incredible?* How wonderful a thing is the *love of wondering, and of raising wonder!* 'Tis the delight of children to hear tales they shiver at, and the

vice of old age to abound in strange stories of times past. We come into the world wondering at everything; and when our wonder about common things is over, we seek something new to wonder at. Our last scene is, to tell wonders of *our own* to all who will believe 'em. And, amidst all this, 'tis well if truth comes off but moderately tainted."—SHAFESBURY'S *Characteristics*, vol. ii. p. 325.

#### TAYLOR'S DIATRIBE AGAINST COACHES.

"If the curses of people that are wronged by them might have prevailed, sure I think the most part of them had been at the devil many years ago. Butchers cannot pass with their cattle for them; market folks which bring provision of vietual to the city, are stopt, staid, and hindered. Carts or waines, with their necessary ladings, are debarred and letted; the milkmaid's ware is often spilt in the dirt, and people's guts like to be crushed out, being crowded and shrowded up against stalls and stoopes. Whilst Mistress *Silverpin* with her pander, and a pair of crammed pullets, ride grinning and deriding in their hell-cart, at their miseries who go on foot: I myself have been so served, when I have wished them all in the great Breach, or on a light fire upon Hounslow Heath or Salisbury Plain; and their damming of the streets in this manner, where people are wedged together that they can hardly stir, is a main and great advantage to the most virtuous mysterie of purse-cutting; and, for anything I know, the hired or haekney coacheeman may join in the confederacy, and share with the eut-purse, one to stop up the way, and the other to shift in the crowd.

"The superfluous use of *coaches* hath been the occasion of many vile and odious erimes, as murder, theft, cheating, hangings, whippings, pillories, stocks, and cages; for housekeeping never decayed till *coaches* came into England, till which time those were accounted the best men who had most followers and retainers; then, land about or near London was thought dear enough at a noble the aere yearly; and a ten-pound house-rent now, was scarce twenty shillings then; but the witchcraft of the *coach* quickly mounted the priece of all things (except poor men's labor), and withal, transformed, in some places, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, or 100 proper servingmen, into two or three animals, *videlicet*, a butterfly page, a trotting footman, a stiff-drinking coacheeman, a cook, a clark, a steward, and a butler: which hath enforced many a discarded tall fellow (through

want of means to live, and grace to guide him in his poverty) to fall into such mischievous actions before-named ; for which I think the gallowses in England have devoured as many lusty valiant men within these thirty or forty years, as would have been a sufficient army to beat the foes of Christ out of Christendome, and marching to *Constantinople*, have plucked the great Turk by the beard ; but, as is aforesaid, this is the age wherein *the world runs on wheels.*"—TAYLOR THE WATER POET'S *Works*, part ii. p. 242.

Cities generally begin by the efforts of mere laborers to obtain employment and ready money ; fishermen, boatmen, and porters, who flock to places where passengers and produce are landing and leaving. Then comes another set of money-seekers, with provisions, goods, and wares to sell, and tavern and boarding supplies, for local and transient customers : and years will sometimes pass by before the place obtains the appearance of a town, beyond the wharves, sheds, huts, and taverns, necessary for the actual accommodation of the business and shelter of passengers, and those engaged in the manual employments of the place.

If the location be unhealthy, or a mere interposit, as Chagres, or Schuylkill Haven, it will hold its primitive condition for ages ; or, if it be a water-power, or manufacturing site, it will, in like manner, maintain its original state, as Lowell and Brandywine ; but if it has inherent inducements for commerce, such as New York and New Orleans, and strong inducements for enterprise, peddlers, hucksters, and traders come, who, upon accumulating fortunes, soon indulge their propensities for imitation, by spacious buildings and sumptuous living. Then comes a town, and, after this, a city.

The first swell is made by the successful porters, mechanics, and tradesmen, without the least pretension to education or refinement, and whose only claim to distinction is the possession of money. Their numbers are augmented by swarms of ignorant and lazy clowns from the neighboring county ; greedy adventurers from adjacent villages ; and desperate knaves from other cities and foreign parts ; who keep up a perpetual succedaneum of vulgar and ignorant display.

The struggle for gain, show, and indulgence, by this promiscuous and ferocious city crowd, presents to the eye of a stranger all the brilliant and startling changes of a revolving kaleidoscope ; but, to the experienced observer, it exhibits a

throng of sly and selfish gamesters, stimulated by vanity, lust, and avarice.

Their origin is apt to be unsound and impure; they spring from grog-shops, and persons of low condition, fugitives, and renegades.

The instances are rare of persons of education, intelligence, and true pride, in the country, mixing with the sordid pursuits and depraved propensities of large cities. They prefer to remain in the quiet and recuperative employments of rural life, where millions spend their lives in manly and refreshing labor, and mental improvement, amidst the blessings of peace, health, and independence.

This hidden line of demarkation lies between intelligence, temperance, and honor on one side, and wickedness and poverty on the other; and the result of this comparison is that, while families in the country maintain for ages a pure and steady reputation, and permanently abide on their hereditary farms, the residents of cities hold but doubtful integrity, uncertain homes, and precarious subsistence; their children are ushered into a dazzling and corrupt world, amidst idleness and profanity; their licentious propensities are indulged, until, by dissolute habits and ruined health, sooner or later they scatter away amongst brothels, almshouses, prisons, and graveyards.

The inhabitants of cities may, therefore, be classed as follows:—

1. Those with which cities begin, and similar materials with which they are supplied; who, having obtained wealth, are
2. A class who assume to themselves a distinct position, and swell themselves into vulgar and laughable grandeur.
3. The perfumed, cigar-smoking, drunken offspring of class No. 2, who strut, bully, and perish.
4. The millions of open and covert thieves, gamblers, knaves, grog-sellers, and rioters, who lurk and subsist by clandestine traffic, violence, and fraud.
5. The few respectable and honest persons, who are enticed to cities for subsistence, and mechanical and professional employments, and some for fashionable amusements.

This is the best and most favorable picture which can honestly be given of the population of large cities.

The craft and subtlety of class No. 2 embrace the whole range of intellect and intelligence, from the idiot to the man of science and refinement; from the beggar to the banker; from

the footpad to the psalm-singing hypocrite; and they are so imperceptibly diffused through all the channels of society that aggravated crimes are excused and pardoned, under the frivolous pretexts of compassion for connections and friends; when the true motive is the sympathy and self-interest of secret confederates and accomplices, or the innate depravity of those who privately encourage and screen criminals.

There is an impulse of malicious delight with too many at the success or escape of criminals; and a strong leaning against their restraint and punishment. Genteel offenders, who hold rank, and have friends, are but seldom brought to justice.

The glaring frauds and embezzlements in the recent Bank, and other moneyed explosions in the United States, were winked at, excused, covered up, and smothered off by *habeas corpus* discharges, to prevent their public trials. Where convictions would have inevitably followed, not one of those arrogant and audacious robbers was ever brought to trial. No court could be found, with sufficient purity and independence to hold them to answer, much less to punish them. Magnificent rewards and distinguished preferments were poured upon the pliant functionaries, who excused their secret and fashionable corruptions. The press was muzzled—no reports of the astounding disclosures were published; and no part of the interesting and startling investigations, which occupied several months, were promulgated; except the insulting evasions of law, and insolent perversions of the truth, contained in the judicial opinions by which they were released. And this bare-faced and impudent outrage was immediately followed up by an unheard-of interdiction, by a co-ordinate functionary, against the movement or revival of these accusations by grand juries or otherwise; and by repeated indemnity to, and pardon of fugitive rogues; so that these infamous crimes were hushed up; all the forms of law were trodden into the ground; and the plundered community were told that their judicial and executive institutions were not intended for the detection and punishment of genteel scoundrels: and the culprits stalked abroad, deriding their ruined victims, and defying justice.

These instances of flagrant legal indemnity and public apathy emphatically index the last and the lowest point to which the perpetrations of crime may be carried by fashionable robbers, in the polluted arenas of large cities.

The spirit of rivalry and competition in cities, in every de-

partment and relation of society, is carried to the utmost point of severity.

All the political, professional, business, and social relations, by squads and cliques, are used to subserve unfair preferments for one set, and for the disparagement and persecution of others.

The rich, and those whose means enable them to live in better style than mechanics and small tradesmen, contemn and deride their supposed inferiority.

The arrogant public functionary, lawyer and doctor, the purse-proud merchant, the insignificant coxcomb, and the fashionable bully, insult the feelings and underrate the condition of all who are not of their particular caste, or within their special circle.

No credit, character, or merit is allowed or conceded to a beginner, however worthy, meritorious, or pure. With men in place or power, no familiarity, kindness, or accommodation is vouchsafed.

While favorites are complimented and indulged, all others are reproved, lectured, snubbed, and rudely pushed aside.

Gamblers, knaves, and swindlers, who would not be allowed to remain one day in the country, find in cities toleration for fraudulent trading, unlawful stock-jobbing, heartless usury and extortion; and insolently maintain a conventional code for themselves, by which integrity and intelligence are sneered at, and money is made the only standard of respectability.

The more genteel and wary of this class are often secretly concerned in gaming-tables, ycleped club-houses, or other cheating contrivances, such as getting up banks and insurance companies, and other swindling schemes, collecting and embezzling the subscriptions, forging certificates of stock and loan, and then bursting up; and, if prosecuted, bribing their way through by *habeas corpus*, and *nol. pros.*, and reorganizing under some other corporate name, and so repeating these infamous plots for plunder and rapine.

#### LUXURY AND DRESS.

“If God were in love with fashions, he were never better served than in this age; for our world is like a pageant, where every man’s apparel is better than himself. Once Christ said that soft clothing is in king’s courts; but now it is crept into every house. Then the rich glutton jetted in purple every day; but now the poor unthrift jets as brave as the glutton, with so many circumstances about him, that if ye could see

how Pride would walk herself, if she did wear apparel, she would even go like many in the streets ; for she could not go braver, nor look stouter, nor mince finer, nor set on more laces, nor make larger cuts, nor carry more trappings about her, than our ruffians and wantons do at this day. How far are these fashions altered from those leather coats which God made in Paradise ! If their bodies did change forms so often as their apparel changeth fashions, they should have more shapes than they have fingers and toes. As Jeroboam's wife disguised herself that the prophet might not know her, so we may think that they disguise themselves that God might not know them. Nay, they disguise their bodies so, till they know not themselves ; for the servant goeth like the master ; the handmaid like her mistress ; the subject like the prince ; as though he had forgotten his calling, and mistook himself, like a man in the dark, which puts on another man's coat for his own, that is too wide, or too side for his body ; so their attires are so unfit for their bodies, so unmeet for their calling, so contrary to nature, that I cannot call them fitter than the monsters of apparel. For the giants were not so monstrous in nature as their attires are in fashion ; that if they could see their apparel but with the glance of a spiritual eye, how monstrous it makes them, like apes, and puppets, and vices, they would fling away their attire as David flung away Saul's armor, and be as much ashamed of their clothes as Adam was of his nakedness."—HENRY SMITH's *Sermons*, p. 208.

The blandishments of fashionable life and the hypocrisies of the church are used as screens for secret gambling, for frauds and conspiracies, which are audaciously denominated "*fair business transactions ; and the harmless excitement of gentlemen at cards.*"

Still these men get influence and obtain power ; they have money, educate their children, give their sons professions, mix about at public places with respectable persons, profess to disown the ignorant and vulgar, give expensive and brilliant entertainments, in which they gather in leading men, prominent politicians, and distinguished functionaries ; loom largely at church and watering places, and thus acquire an artificial tone and rank which passes off for respectability and real elevation of character.

## PRODIGALITY.

“The decoration of the body is the devoration of the substance; the back wears the silver that would do better in the purse. *Armenta vertuntur in ornamenta*: the grounds are unstocked to make the back glister. Adam and Eve had *coats* of beasts’ *skins*; but now many beasts, flesh, skins, and all, will scarce furnish a prodigal younger son of *Adam* with a suit. And, as many sell their tame beasts in the country, to enrich their wild beasts in the city, so you have others, that, to revel at a Christmas, will ravel out their patrimonies. *Pride* and good husbandry are neither kith nor kin: but *Jabal* and *Jubal* are brethren: *Jabal*, that dwelt in tents, and tended the herds, had *Jubal* to his brother, who was the father of Music; to show that *Jabal* and *Jubal*, Frugality and Music, Good Husbandry and Content, are brothers, and dwell together. But *Pride* and *Opulency* may kiss in the morning, as a married couple, but will be divorced before sunset. They whose fathers could sit and tell their Michaelmas hundredths, have brought *December* on their estates, by wearing *May* on their backs all the year.

“This is the plague and clog of the *-fashion*, that it is never unhampered of *Debets*. *Pride* begins with *Habeo*, ends with *Debeo*; and sometimes makes good every syllable *gradatim*. Thus the substance is emptied for a show; and many rob themselves of all they have to put a good suit on their backs.”—THOMAS ADAMS, *Devil’s Banquet*, p. 72.

Illustrations could be given, that would hardly be credited, by persons ignorant of the tolerated and fashionable wickedness which prevails in large cities.

Thousands, as peddlers, from stalls and shambles, through small shops, auction-stores, and secret combinations to vouch for and recommend each other, worm themselves up as jobbers; and hundreds from the kennels and gutters are hired by these spurious dealers to sponge out and drag up buyers.

These by degrees sometimes creep into stores, as porters, salesmen—get foothold as partners, and take stand as merchants.

Thousands, without education or fitness, rush into the professions, and into every light and easy pursuit, because they are too lazy to work; and thus there is cast upon the surface, in all the occupations, a swarm of ignorant and desperate adventurers, and supercilious, base-born, low-bred quacks and petti-

foggers, who compose a numerous, very prominent, and pernicious portion of the community.

They have nothing to lose, and everything to gain.

If in the professions, they insult and traduce those who are respectable and fit, and defraud the public by their ignorance and presumption.

And the whole raft spend their lives in flagrant combinations, alternately to bull and bear the market, to over-buy, over-bid, and over-sell; to forestall, monopolize, inflate, overrate, depress, and destroy the prices and the value of every kind of property; and slur and defy morality and industry.

They revel in the immunities granted to corporations; in the disinterested organization and benevolent management of banks, insurance offices, and savings fund societies; all of which are devoutly intended for the exclusive facility and advantage of the enterprising tradesman and the industrious mechanic, who have not the time nor the proper knowledge for these vital and essential matters of political economy, and in whose name, and for whose ostensible use, these accomplished villains get up their infamous contrivances, and unblushingly pervert them to the purposes of extortion and plunder.

The elder and deacon of a church, and president of an insurance company, who entertained none but divines and godly men, daily rode with powdered head, and liveried and brilliant equipage; managed to vamp up the shares of his company by declaring large dividends, ostensibly out of the profits, but really off of the capital, until it was all gone; and then sold out above par, owning nearly all the shares, and robbed the public more than three times of the entire stock.

A saddler and a hatter got to be bank directors, and joined a set of lazy knaves, obtained a charter for a bank.

One went largely into the importation of hides and tallow, lived and rode about like a prince, married, and splendidly portioned off a daughter, broke, and died a drunkard.

The other soon left his shop for a store on the wharf, and became a shipper; in some three or four years, he was tried and convicted for cheating his underwriters, served out his time in the penitentiary, and left his son to fleece the public by other schemes of plunder, as a *gentleman*!

Another bird of prey, who fled from London for forgery, changed his name, joined a church, assumed most pious gravity, became secretary of an institution, and, living fat for

many sumptuous years, died insolvent, and was buried in proud and solemn pomp. After when, it was found that the stock of his feasted friends had all been pawned and hypothecated.

The directors of another corporation appointed from themselves a president and secretary, forged certificates of their loans and stock, and, for years, used, pawned, and sold these spurious issues to the amount of more than eight hundred thousand dollars.

When their villainies were detected, they made scapegoats of the bellows-blowers, who were, after some twenty-five resisted efforts, finally convicted for fraud, and sentenced to the penitentiary.

One, being flush, got pardoned within twenty-four hours; and the other, not being just at that juncture so well prepared, had his case deferred; but, within about three months, the required facilities were obtained, and he was promptly and honorably pardoned also.

Their misfortunes were kindly overlooked; one of them very soon obtained a semi-foreign function; and the other became an active popular political leader, and more than once controlled the nomination and election of a member of Congress.

The ignorant and impudent son of a country tavern-keeper, celebrated "*for the art of self-defence*," and winning at "*sweat-cloth*," and for training and keeping "*season horses*," began his city career with a small grocery and dram-shop, to which he put a still-pot in his yard, raised a horse and dray, and carted about his kegs to the pop-shops; then opened a liquor store; in about five years, became an exporter of his own brewed gin and brandy; moved his family from an alley into a main street; jumped off of his dray-shaft into his coach; was a director of a bank that broke; furnished most gorgeously his spacious mansion-house, and invited to it persons of education and character, who did not come.

A country lad held and watered horses at the stopping places, slept in stables, got to be an omnibus-boy, then a shop-porter, a bar-tender, then a salesman, merchant, and bank director; and lived for years amidst feasting and drinking, and died of apoplexy.

A superficially educated upstart loomed and swelled out with plethoric affectations of delicacy, refinement, and political economy; wrote pamphlets, courted and flattered persons in place and power; prated of, and composed sophistries on financial

philosophy, and on the scientific circulation and skillful hypothecation of joint stock capital.

At length, by a league of organized importunities and concurring contingencies, he obtained the sceptre of corporation sway, accommodated and enlisted thousands of gamblers upon 'Change and in politics; issued and embezzled unregistered millions; alternately expanded and contracted; suddenly shifted and capriciously changed the spheres of splendid bounty and lawless ruin; banished all other exchanges and mediums, and boldly defied the nation and its exchequer; sported in spasmodic and remorseless schemes of debauchery and fraud; tortured and laid waste the morals and industry of one age, and corrupted and polluted the next generation with the loathsome infections of idleness and villainy.

Millions upon millions were squandered, and the perpetrators have rotted into the earth.

Before the abolition of slavery and corporeal punishments, the convicts were but seldom imprisoned; they were sentenced to be hanged or cropped, branded or whipped, or to stand in the pillory; and every market-day, at eleven o'clock, some of these inflictions were made by the keeper of the prison.

The owners of slaves had the power to take them to the prison and have them put in the *slave-pen*, as is now practiced in Charleston and all slave cities, and to order such punishment as they chose.

The philosophy of the whole theory resting upon the humane and reasonable hypothesis that the master's interest in the slave, on all occasions, would be an abundant safeguard against cruelty.

The scourge and the knife, these emblems of barbarous power, were publicly flourished up without notice, except by the rabble, who occasionally hurled showers of missiles upon the helpless victims.

The literal and dextrous perpetration of these vindictive and summary judgments was held to be a matter of great refinement and skill, and just in proportion to the pecuniary inducements tendered to the executioner by the culprit or his prosecutors, was the real or apparent severity of his punishment.

But, for the destitute and friendless slave, there was no escape; the thong fell like a rod of red hot iron on his naked back.

Well, when the old jail stood at the south-west corner of

Third and Market Streets, in Philadelphia, and the whipping-post and pillory stood at the west end of the Market-house, on the east side of Third Street, and the inmates of the prison, of all ages and sexes, were huddled into one promiseuous den, and the keeper kept a dram-shop, and lived with his family in the prison, and his daughters served out pennyworths of grog and bean broth to the prisoners, and the keeper and his sons were the only inspectors and scourges:

In those good old days of primitive and ferocious simplicity, there was a sturdy villain, who thus for years lived rent-free, and fattened on the spoils and fees of this office of hell.

His large and hopeful family grew up, and are scattered wide and proud.

To those who knew of their juvenile occupations, and see their present affectations of respectability, the comparison is loathsome.

Fortunately for this base and degraded class of beings, the average life of man is but twenty-one years, and the unfashionable reminiscences of the past, from the imperious and vital necessities of the vulnerable, are classed with the independent propensities of the critical.

In a single city in the United States, there were two banks, and three other joint stock companies, with an aggregate capital of thirteen millions; the projectors of which, in advance, artfully vamped up the stock three or four times above its par; so that, at the place of subscription, there were mobs of bare-headed and half-naked thousands, whose savage yells, and brutal struggles for the fortified loopholes, into which but two or three hands could be thrust, beggared all description.

These degrading scenes continued at intervals of four or five years; the protruding fist contained the name of the applicant, with his first instalment; the inside commissioners by turns, and at their option, took from, and returned to a single clutching hand the limited modicum of scrip.

If the hands were not known to the impartial commissioner, they writhed in vain and wineing agony. This insulting farce lasted a few hours for three days, ostensibly to give the beloved public an opportunity for safe investment of their honest gains.

The sequel showed that no scrip passed out through the loophole but to the jacks and bullies of those inside.

The remainder, of course, not being asked for, was in stipends portioned off to lobby and other members of the legislature;

rewards for nominating the commissioners, and to sop them for future frauds; and the balance was equally divided amongst, and taken by the scoundrels inside, from no motive but to keep the charter from being lapsed, and to vitalize a great and glorious benefaction for the innocent and hard-working community.

Precipitate charter organization was then urged by unflinching perjuries, that the required cash instalments had been paid in; instead of which, they only held their own promissory notes, "*To my own order,*" including most, if not all, the loophole scrip.

The commissioners of all these institutions were nearly the same persons, with their names so mixed as to elude notice; from which a set of directors and officers for each institution was made, so that, by a comparison of the roll of all the directors, it was found that the whole string of sixty or seventy directors and officers was composed of some twenty-five or thirty men, all of whom had been commissioners; thus conclusively proving the existence and success of the conspiracy.

They and their accomplices issued millions upon millions of shin-plasters, and carried into an inflated market a paper capital of thirteen millions, with which they swaggered off, and bullied down the public.

This capital stock they increased to twenty-six millions by hypothecating their unpaid for thirteen millions of spurious stock upon their own paper, to their "*own order,*" and by cutting certificates from the blank book, and forging out to themselves unregistered certificates of stock to any amount their cupidity required.

It was also ascertained that this infamous combination of crafty rogues held, and regularly occupied pews, maintained town and country palaces, drove gorgeous equipages, entertained crowds in princely splendor, secretly gambled by cards, lotteries, election wagers, pools and stakes of thousands; inflated, bulled, and depressed the stock market, and regated and fore stalled the cotton, grain, and land market at will.

And thus, by a well-concocted and thief-like moneyed conspiracy, fraudulently controlled all these great elements of finance and trade, until their blistering, noxious bubbles burst, spreading destruction and ruin throughout an entire community.

The finale of this single instance of confederated villainy presented, in addition to the spoliations of twenty-six millions of spurious capital, more than two millions of corporation loans,

five millions of their individual borrowing, upon hypothecations of store house certificates, and other forged bills, notes, and paper; making a loss to the people of more than thirty millions by the villainies of this single nest of scoundrels within ten years.

Such was the mysterious delusion and effectual control in which they held the public that their scandalous malversations were winked at, and openly excused.

Executives and judges were flattered by splendid hospitalities, and tampered with by gratuities, offers of participations in brilliant schemes for affluence.

The weeping lamentations of beggared families with disbanded retinues, and broken-down establishments, and of indicted participants, were everywhere sympathized. Judicial inquiry was denounced as brutal; prosecutors were publicly abused, in open court, as "*ferocious wolves*," and put in fashionable coventry, as vulgar misanthropes; the insolent reproach and excuse on all sides were, of "*fair business transactions*," and of "*unfortunate speculations*," and "*the harmless excitement of gentlemen*."

And thus, by morbid and corrupt sympathy, *habeas corpus* discharge, quashed indictments, disagreements, and refusals of juries to find verdicts, new trials, executive pardons to fugitive renegades, and presently for convicts, without the key turn; this band of heartless robbers were corruptly and promptly whitewashed, and turned loose, to insult the plundered community, and mock to scorn the laws of God and man.

They held the same cabalistic compact by signs, signals, and secret convocations, at club-houses, private parties, and at each other's habitations, as is practiced by blacklegs, footpads, and passers of counterfeit money.

This same system of accomplished and refined villainy has been perpetrated over the whole country, upon a larger and smaller scale, for years past.

Most of the miscreants have sunk into the earth; but some have survived, to feast upon their plundered spoils, and join with new recruits in other schemes for plunder and fraud.

This picture is not only true in all its lines and shades, but in every tint and hue.

Its literal demonstration was incontestably established by uncontradicted reports of committees, of swindled stockholders, insolvent and bankrupt examinations, and the criminal prosecutions of the culprits. And they were never denied except by

the reckless perpetrators, their accomplices, polluted minions, and corrupt presses.

Where crime holds popular and fashionable sympathy, it baffles law, and goes unwhipt of justice.

Justice in one hand holds a sword, and with the other weighs before she strikes.

Her eyes and strength are firmly fixed upon the golden beam to guard its sure and righteous poise; murmurs and shouts alternate thrill the eager crowd, as fall and lift the trembling scales; vibration quickens to its solemn pause.

The quivering index moves not back, but downward leans towards guilt; prostrate, the victim writhes before unflinching power. The mighty arm uplifts, and smites the awful blow. Amidst suspense for fearful test of truth, adroit and cunning vice trieked out the iron hilt, and for the unconscious grasp slipped in a velvet lash.

The culprit is unharmed, and, in triumphant scorn, mocks the dumb show of codes and laws against cunning subtleties and gilded craft, with fashionable knaves.

The fortunes of the artificial and pestilent ingredients of society referred to are as varied as the capricious undulations of the ocean.

Their signs, and names, and firms, and entire families, and groups, rise and fall, as if by equinoctial storms they were annually swept away.

Their characters and conduct literally correspond with the common sportsman.

They are wholly ignorant, have no libraries, never read anything but newspapers, and by their countenance, conversation, and conduct betray the watchful spirit, suspicious look, restless temper, and the sulkyunning of the blackleg and the footpad.

Their children are turned into the streets with full purses and costly clothes, to swell through the town as raek rowdies, without restraint or discipline, smoking and drinking in oyster-cellars and brothels, swearing and bragging through gaming-saloons, and betting and flashing at race-grounds and gambling-hells.

It requires no prophetic inspiration to nominate the unflinching catastrophe by which they are so soon plunged into the kennels of abomination and obscurity from which they came.

## CURSE OF ILL-GOTTEN WEALTH.

"There is such a curse goes along with an ill-gotten estate that he that leaves such a one to his child doth but cheat and deceive him, makes him believe he has left him wealth, but has withal put such a canker in the bowels of it, that it is sure to eat it out. Would to God it were as generally laid to heart as it seems to be generally taken notice of! Then surely parents would not account it a reasonable motive to unjust dealing, that they may thereby provide for their children; for this is not a way of providing for them; nay, 'tis the way to spoil them of whatever they have lawfully gathered for them; the least mite of unlawful gain being of the nature of leaven, which sours the whole lump, bringing down curses upon all a man possesseth."—*Whole Duty of Man, 14th Sunday.*

Loathsome and degrading as are all these practical infirmities of dense and crowded populations, to the honor of human nature, there are many, in all the American cities, who are industrious and frugal in their habits, and honest and proficent in their callings and professions.

But the aggregate of their morals and intelligence falls far short of the purity, simplicity, benevolence, and intellectual elevation of the inhabitants of the country.

Extravagance, bad passions, inordinate desires, morbid and angry excitements, sophistries, and falsehood, indolence, insurrections, violence, and rapine are engendered by, and spring up amidst the vices and pollutions of large cities.

There should not be too much encouragement given to these hotbeds of crime, these schools and nurseries for gamblers and gluttons, these hiding-places and fortified entrenchments in all ages for armed soldiers, noblemen, military chieftains, kings, emperors, and tyrants.

The pastoral elements of society have never engendered these gross and gigantic evils.

Those who are unexposed to pestilence and crime live in health and honor; while thousands perish by their proximity to contagion and temptation.

Cities are the theatres of infection and vice, scenes of desolation to honest men, by the bankruptcies of adventurers and rogues, and of conflagrations by mobs.

These agitations are not incident to the country, and never disturb its repose, unless by eruptions from large towns.

All honest men should revolt at and abhor the degrading distinctions encouraged by these sinks of shame and infamy.

The healthy employments and the innocent pursuits of agriculture purify and elevate the mental aspirations, and invigorate and ennable the organic functions of man.

Here there is security, harmony, and abundance for all whose reasonable and temperate aspirations conform to the wise and bounteous dispensations of a just and holy Providence.

#### LABOR NEGLECTED FOR HIGHER OCCUPATIONS—YET LABOR THE LOT OF MAN.

Labor is part of the punishment appointed for the primal sin : “ Now man, instead of patience in bearing this yoke, and obedience in undertaking this task, and conforming himself to God’s law, desires nothing so much as to frustrate the sentence of God, and to avoid the punishment ; especially in these last days, which is the old age of the world, we intend nothing more than our idleness and sloth, sometimes under the fair show of sanctity. Whereas certain it is that all honest callings and vocations of men, they are God’s own ordinance ; in performing them we do God service ; *bis orat qui bene laborat* ; the works have the force of a prayer, as implicitly desiring God to concur with his own means. They are likewise in the nature of sacrifices, as being actions well-pleasing, and commanded by God himself. Think them not base ; do not neglect them with any foolish fancy and conceit of thine own purity ; for God hath appointed them, and he shall one day take the accounts of thy labor in this kind. But the general practice of this world is to give over all painful, manual, and laborious professions, and to desire to live by their wits ; as if the state of man were wholly angelical, and that his hunger could be satisfied with knowledge, his thirst quenched with sweet meditation, and his back clothed with good precepts ; or, as if every part should ambitiously aspire to the perfection of an eye. For scholars are infinite ; lawyers innumerable ; cities swarm and abound with multitudes, and every company complains of company : but tillage, husbandry, and manual labor were never more neglected. We do not desire to gain from nature, so to benefit ourselves, and to enrich the whole kingdom : but we desire, with the fineness and quiddities of our own wits, to gain from

others; and we must breed up our children as clerks in some office. And hence it is that our wants were never so great; the tricks and shifts of many were never so shameful and dishonest; for they that know best to live riotously in a wasteful course of expense know least what belongs to the labor and difficulty in getting."—GOODMAN'S *Fall of Man*, p. 246.

The policy and wisdom of these United States is to foster the spread of population, and to discourage its needless accumulation, and its dangerous and pernicious moneyed aristocracy, always incident to swelling villages and opulent cities.

To educate and qualify their children with a taste and with talents, not so much, as has been the custom heretofore, for merchandizing and professions, the expensive living and uncertain and perilous pursuits of crowded cities, as for the mechanical arts, scientific employments, and the productive and independent occupations of the fields.

To cherish learning, and encourage genius and industry, and mainly those arts and pursuits which most develop the treasures, and increase the fruits of the earth; to supersede the pretexts for luxuries, and the pernicious rise of credit, capital, and trade, by a rigid resolution to make temperance, industry, integrity, and the simplicities of living fashionable; and, in like manner, to purify and keep clean all the fountains and streams of the public weal.

The republican strength and security of this blessed land lie with the husbandmen, whose glorious heritage is scattered wide and far upon the dells and plains of this mighty continent; from whose blooming farms and virtuous homes a people's fragrant prayers and pious homage emanate to Heaven; for which in love and hope they hold the sovereign power to rule and sway the sacred boon of peace and lawful liberty from shore to shore.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE WEN AND THE KNIFE.

Factions—Frauds—Offices—Intrigues—Improvements—Pavements—Cholera—Factions—Ignorance—Mechanics—Aldermen—Police—Malesfactors—Riots—Mayors—Military—Conflagration—Health offices—Alms-houses—Monarchies—Mobs—Political parties—Majorities—Honesty—Best men—Rogues—Remedy—Parties—Ward meetings—Registers—Suffrage—Qualification of voters—Candidates to be examined by a board of censors—Pimps—Spies—Speech-makers—Brawlers and leaders—Fires—FIRE-COMPANIES not allowed by the Romans—Remedy—How they should be organized—LYNCHING—Mobs—Riots—Order—Law—Peace-marshall—Police—Security—Public peace.

A BRIEF summary of a few of the official corporation, political, and other obliquities, especially prevalent in towns and cities, with some suggestions for their remedy, is now proposed to be given.

The local affairs of towns, cities, and counties, their lights, roads, streets, bridges, strays, water, police, &c., all of which could be abundantly attended to by one competent and faithful magistrate, even in the largest cities, are in some places, where the population and property are large, made to serve the most abusive purposes of political and party strife, and personal speculations.

*Intrigues for Low Office.*—“Histories are daily written which discover the subtleties and tricks of state: but sure it is that there is as much false dealing, close practices, cunning suggestions, dissimulation, breach of promises, and every way as much dishonesty, in a petty, poor, base, paltry corporation, for the choice of their town clerk, their bailiff, or some such officer, as you shall find among the great bashaws, for the upholding and supporting of the Turkish empire.”—GOODMAN’S *Fall of Man*, p. 207.

Halls, chambers, galleries, and other superfluous pageants are sometimes made; chartered privilege for taxation, organizations of mayor, double legislative departments, tax collectors,

treasurers, chief captains, marshals, head men, and high constables, municipal courts, judges, and recorders, are arranged for with separate apartments, and swarms of subordinates, with all the affectations, ceremony, and pomp which belong to national governments.

Large salaries, favor, patronage, contracts, intrigue, corruption, peculations, police, knavery, petty oppression, and open negligence of required duty are unblushingly perpetrated without stint.

If a court-house, a building, a road, a street, or a bridge, requires to be repaired, or rebuilt, the public may wait for years, and in vain.

Their courts and grand juries may demand from the appropriating departments of these petty governments the funds for their execution; reference to committees and indefinite postponements will follow every motion upon the subject; unless the contract for the work, and the whole appropriation can be previously arranged to suit the views of the insolent and corrupt miscreants who thus insult and defy the people.

In a single city, whose increase of business and population had so overswollen its old court-house, and other necessary local accommodations, as to have made their confined and inappropriate condition a notorious and common nuisance; and subjected the public archives to constant dilapidation, after legislative enactments, authorizing new buildings, and the concurrence and urgent request of all the required sources of authority, with unexceptionable plans and estimates; a petty county board, the whole bunch not worth \$10,000, who had the power to veto the demanded appropriation, baffled and deviled the people for more than twenty years, for no reason but that the contracts could not be intrigued for, so as to accommodate theniselves and their tavern-haunting, rum-drinking associates.

If an improvement is proposed in the construction of a pier, or quay, a street lamp, a gutter, or the size of a paving-stone, or a sanitary or police regulation, grave committees are raised, whose time is liberally spent in excursions and feastings, at the public expense; and of all these pretended efforts for public improvement, no report of any of the hundreds of these committees records anything but stupidity and ignorance.

Upon a recent cholera preliminary, they demanded from a number of medical practitioners that, whereas this epidemic is generated by choak damp or carbonic acid, by sulphuretted

hydrogen, and other offensive emanations from privies, and the fetid odors from knackers, &c., what measures were necessary to render these atmospheric deteriorations innoxious, and thus to counteract and defeat the cholera.

To these prodigious ejaculations of wisdom they received in answer, by way of a liber primus hit, from a single respondent, the following appropriate rebuke: That every decent man and woman should keep their dishes and noses clean; and if there was so much dirt about them as to disturb their neighbors by its deportation before cold weather comes, that they should sprinkle it all over with a quarter dollar's worth of nitrate of lead and chloride of zinc, or some other antibromies. And when winter time comes, to get moon-catchers, with hooks and boxes, to make a thorough exculpation of these morbid influences. That, however repulsive and intolerable, to a casual observer, all these fetid odors may be, including that from dead animals, the spinning of their entrails, and the distillation of hartshorn from their bones, &c., for many years past, it had been discovered, by special and accurate hygienic examination, not to affect the workmen and families about them, who soon became familiar with and unconscious of the inhalation of these odors.

And that the numerous and effectual purifying agents for all these noxious odors, by the most conclusive and fatal experiments, had been found to possess no disinfecting power over febrile malaria.

A city legislature, composed of some twenty or thirty ignorant politicians, had to be told these simple facts, which every woman and child knows who has read any compendium upon useful knowledge, or the respectable newspapers and magazines of the day.

A majority of the members of the conventions and delegations from whom their nominations emanate are boisterous bullies, without homes or employment; who never pay their debts; hold no property, and pay no taxes. And the ward and district meetings where these delegates are chosen are always held in the night, amidst the uproar of tumultuous rabbles brought there from other districts, and plied with rum by the gamblers and factious to overawe and bully down the people.

No registers are used to test the right of suffrage; and all order and integrity of proceeding are lost in the violence of a

*vivâ voce* yell, and the false proclamation of a corrupted president.

The scenes of horror and desecration exhibited in some of these attic ward-rooms and odious rum-holes beggar all the ferocities of aboriginal savagism.

Entire city and county legislature delegations by these infamous dens have been nominated, and by faction, frauds, and riotous excitements been elected, who have been wholly unknown to their constituents.

No directories or assessors' lists will indicate their names, abodes, occupations, or one dollar's worth of property they ever owned.

They are reckless, irresponsible, ignorant, corrupt, and venal; with gross and depraved animal appetites, and the most abandoned moral and sensual propensities.

At the distance of every square or two, there is a dingy recess with a sign on it in large letters:—

“MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE.

“WILLS, DEEDS, AND ALL OTHER INSTRUMENTS  
CAREFULLY AND LEGALLY DRAWN HERE.”

In one city there have been more than three hundred commissioned police officers, with a Mayor and Recorder, at an annual expense of \$130,000.

They profess to watch and guard, by blocks and beats, the entire city day and night.

Thousands of fights and riots, mobs, fires, and murders occurred; not half of them were published in the newspapers. No one ever heard of the arrest of a criminal at these scenes of outrage, or of the presence or interference of the police.

They stand at corners, smoke cigars, and stare at female passengers; impudently swagger through the streets with large clubs, talk politics, pimp, and spy out a dirty tub or a carriage waiting for the proper accommodation of the owner; or pick up some poor intemperate countrymen, not the rowdies; for they consort with them, and sue for and pocket half the fines.

They constantly annoy, persecute, and bully the people; but render them no indemnity against robbers, conflagration, and murder.

No forger or burglar was ever arrested by them unless for

reward; and their corrupt collusion with these scoundrels is no longer denied.

At the recent riots in Philadelphia, from 1844 to 1849, an average of two thousand military and special police were on duty, at a cost of \$60,000; by whom, and their mounted centurions, the streets were insolently patrolled and blocked up for days. Full warning was openly given of the intended aggressions.

The police was present at these riots and fires in quadruplication. Loud and vapid harangues were ejaculated by them from fire-plugs and cab-tops.

A squad of some forty or fifty ruffians, most of them half-grown boys, clambered over each other's shoulders, dashed in the windows, and fired the immense and splendid structures; tore down chancels and altars; ripped open magnificent and invaluable libraries of learning and science; and amidst hellish shouts and demoniac yells dashed their desecrated plunder into the flames.

The entire bevy of miscreants could and would have been knocked down and dragged out by this police four to one, if they had been ordered to do it. No blow was struck; no arm was raised; not one of these ruthless scoundrels was there touched or has been since then arrested or brought to justice.

All the world beheld with horror this formidable police melt away into the crowd, and an audacious mob of not three hundred, including the aiders, abettors, and all told, in open and unbridled insurrection.

These perpetrations, on one occasion in Philadelphia, cost in pay to the temporary police and military more than \$60,000, and in damage by fire \$160,000.

Not one check was given to it except the commendable order of a militia officer to fire upon the mob in Southwark, which presently dispersed them; and for which the wailings and execrations of the non-taxpaying idle politicians, and drunken rabble, who claim to be the law and order, free school loving, dear people, were poured out in street corner and town-meeting torrents.

Under the pretext of sanitary precaution, a detestable nuisance called a "*Health Office*," is licensed, which avails itself of its ostensible necessities and purposes of philanthropy to obtain, from time to time from the legislature, the most preposterous and oppressive powers, for example:—

With the sinister pretense of keeping clean and pure the city, they dispatch a swarm of odor-scenting pimps into all the court-yards and areas, to nose out and report to "*the board*" every noxious tub and pot that sagacity and impartiality can detect.

These rummage-mangers receive a bounty for every discovery, and of course their reports are final.

The muster-roll of noxious pans and rat-holes is secretly registered with an entry that "*the Board has declared it a nuisance.*" An order is issued for its peremptory removal: the owner is of course avoided; the abatement is made by their scullions, and a lien is filed in court against the property where the disinfection is perpetrated.

When the owner for the first time is wakened up by a writ against him, for the fictitious claim, he discovers that he is charged ten prices for every item, with a fee of five dollars for "*a Permit*" to be robbed, and twenty-five cents for the oath of the scoundrel who swore that he served the spurious and fraudulent notice on another man.

And then he is gravely told that the law has given this power from necessary emergency to "*the Board*," and that their orders and charges cannot be contradicted.

So that with the thieving, fires, riots, mobs, gambling, insolence, plunder, murder, paupers, politicians, health offices, police, and free schools, the people who are quiet and mind their own business, and who work and save, in these large towns and cities, have quite as much to bear as they can stagger under.

It is no wonder that so few respectable persons remain in them, and that they are thus the ready receptacles of so much vice and crime.

The city referred to is certainly not so bad in these respects as other cities are; so that the foregoing exposition of facts falls far short of the average standard of depravity and crime, notoriously prevalent in these feeulent deposits of moral abomination.

The cause of all these shocking wrongs is owing to the inexcusable neglect of the people. They pay no attention to their public affairs. They act upon the supposition that free institutions and just laws are not susceptible of abuses; and thus leave to a few drones and knaves the entire control and management of the administration of the government.

They are reluctant to waste their time and bring themselves

in personal conflict and strife, at the primary political meetings, with rogues and vulgar vagrants in grog-shops at night; to challenge, resist, and frustrate their frauds; and expose themselves to public criticism and sinister imputations; and thus for peace and quiet they remain at home.

However convenient this reasoning may be for individual accommodation, it involves a proposition in morals and polities as false as it is censurable.

Every citizen has a public duty in this respect to perform, for the neglect of which he not only incurs the hazard of losing his property and his life, and the life of every member of his family, but the danger is incurred of a subversion of the free institutions of his country.

In monarchial countries, all the subjects at maturity, and upon the ascension to power of a new prince, make to him a solemn oath of allegiance; and this form of government presupposes that, upon this adhesion to the supreme magistrate, the people are excused from public cares, and that he will maintain the stability of the government and protect his subjects.

That his sacred trust and high office will place him beyond the reach of temptation for wrong, with sufficient incentives and certain inducements for purity and honor; and that, therefore, the people may pursue their private affairs without the anxieties and responsibilities of government.

This is the theory of such governments. All the public oversight is cast upon the king, and instances are by no means wanting to show the strict and resolute accountability required by the people from their sovereigns; and the parental redress and vindication accorded by these rulers to their subjects.

Their courts and their ears, in many countries, are open to the petitions of their people, however humble or obscure.

But, in the United States, the people have abjured, denounced, and for ever repudiated all this intervening power.

They deny that there is any authority but with themselves.

That, as citizens and joint sovereigns of the land, they will swear allegiance to none; that they will make their own laws; fight their own battles; levy their own taxes; and appoint their own rulers.

They, therefore, have no right to omit or neglect to perform this duty faithfully, promptly, resolutely, utterly regardless of inconvenience, exposure, self-denial, or expense.

They have voluntarily assumed all the responsibility of maintaining eternal vigilance as the price of liberty.

They have no right to shrink from or excuse themselves from it.

And every pretext to evade it is a mean and unmanly act of secret, selfish, sordid treason.

The whole structure of their free institutions, involving the liberties of unborn millions, for whom they have come security, is left at the mercy and disposal of ruffians and gamblers.

To accommodate their pusillanimous, ignoble, and listless apathy, and to save a trifle of time and money, and to suit their finical and cowardly repugnance for the contact and insolent opposition of scoundrels, the country is to be surrendered to a licentious rabble.

The patriots of the American Revolution endured a series of unequalled privations and sufferings in the achievement of their national independence and the establishment of free institutions.

The elements of this great fabric of wisdom and justice involve a direct recognition of its perpetual liability to the most imminent danger from adventurers and demagogues, and the most effectual precautions against these abuses by an indemnity for equal franchise, the right of suffrage, rotation in office, and frequent elections, upon the most careful and rigid system of qualifications to voters and officers.

All these are vital and fundamental principles, lying at the basis of the civil compact, and they should be taught by rote to every child as soon as he can speak, repeated after his prayers, morning and night, and instilled into and engrafted upon the very essence of his mental and moral existence.

There is no human or divine theory of itself that can work out practical results. They are mere philosophical abstractions, just as liable to be used for bad objects as to be employed for good purposes.

There has been an immeasurable extent of iniquity and outrage perpetrated under the holy mantle of religion; and an unlimited extent of cruelty and oppression committed in the name of justice and patriotism.

Free and equal laws, and pure and sound religion, in the hands of crafty hypocrites, are made convenient pretexts and plausible pretences for the most atrocious crimes.

To rely upon the truth and justice of a free code of consti-

tutional and municipal law for the preservation of peace and securing the rights of the people, is as fallacious as to depend upon the Holy Scriptures working out the regeneration of depraved and fallen man by the mere act of their being printed and circulated. Without practical use and application, they remain as much a dead letter as the unemployed rudiments and laws of science.

The people of the United States, with commendable pride, glory in their free institutions and frequent elections. The system is almost perfect; it can do no harm itself, but may be abused, and, in many respects, requires amendment.

As all the powers of government periodically fall back into their own hands, they think this is an effectual check upon official abuse; and so it is, if they will keep it in their own hands. The danger of despotic usurpation from hereditary rulers they suppose to be wholly prevented by these inherent and recuperative capacities of their system; and so they are, if they will use them as they have the power, and as it is their duty to employ them.

They reason honestly, but not wisely. No human device can be more perfect in theory, and none so delusive in practice. Its purity and grandeur inspire too much confidence and apathy.

It possesses no reserved or conservative restraint upon the intrigue of demagogues and factions, nor could it be so framed. This power is exclusively reserved to the people, as it should be.

By secret and plausible simulations of patriotism, rogues and knaves secretly obtain control of the primary springs of the appointing and nominating power; and, whenever the people neglect their duty, executive selections are openly made, to accommodate as many as can be provided for, and to furnish sordid lackeys with the means of intrigue.

The choice of delegates to make party nominations for the elections is also obtained by violence or open fraud; and abandoned profligates are selected by all the parties.

This degeneration has made as rapid progress in the United States as the dramatic excitements produced by the immense increase and influx of population, the rivalries in commerce and monopolies, and the enthusiasm of novelties and speculation, would allow.

There is, with the public functionaries of this people, more

ignorance, arrogance, neglect, trick, fraud, and perjury, than in the countries where orders, titles, and hereditary successions prevail, without any controlling power to keep them in awe.

Where there is a king, or even a despot, with an army behind these vermin of popular creation, with whom the honest and the loyal can rally, there is some safety in seasons of public peril; but in the United States, there will be no shelter in times of anarchy and disunion.

The exigencies of tumult and revolution must then fall back with crushing severity upon the aggregate masses of the people.

In such an emergency, they will find their conservative guarantee of the ballot-box, as it is now neglected by them, and abused by the mob, an impotent and empty barrier against the violence of insurrectionary and cut-throat demagogues.

This is a dim speck in the political horizon, which has thus far been concealed from view by the dazzling glories of this brilliant and popular scheme.

At a day, perhaps, not far distant, this gorgeous rainbow will melt away, and the credulous advocates of universal and riotous suffrage, as it is now desecrated, will discover that it is a pernicious and cruel mockery, if not most resolutely guarded and defended; that the candidates for office, by the negligence and apathy of the honest, are selected for their refinements in vice; that the people are robbed of their sovereignty at the elections by false and unqualified voters, by perjured thieves, who rifle the ballot-box of, and burn the lawful votes, and replace them by forged ballots; and that the administrators of government and law are with these profligate harpies, who plunder their earnings and savings by peculation, mobs, and taxation.

This crisis will test a conflict between rapine and the remnant of the honest patriotism of the American Revolution; a conflict between honest men and a ruthless rabble, in which, heretofore, the cut-throats have generally prevailed.

Before the combustible and destructive materials for this explosion are fully generated, the men who own the land, raise the subsistence of, and sustain the country, should solemnly look about them, and practically act upon the prophetic injunction, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

This is the Wen.—Now for the Knife.

1. Divide yourselves into as many parties as you will, and by any name you choose to go by.

2. You profess to be gentlemen, to treat each other and your

opponents with decorum; and that you will be governed by a majority of lawful votes.

3. You aver that you are in earnest; repudiate all insincerity, and solemnly proclaim to the world your belief in the integrity of your professions; and anxiously desire to obtain success for your cause and your party for no object but the real good and substantial welfare of society.

4. You utterly disclaim all connection or affinity with persons whose lives and conversations are not in strict accordance with all the elements of industry, sobriety, and morality; and wholly refuse to accept, and disdain their aid or support.

5. You invite to your ranks all lawful voters of honor, industry, and integrity, without regard to their property or rank, and believe that no motive should govern in the choice of public agents, but an undivided and single effort to obtain the best and most competent officers.

6. Governed by these just and equitable laws, let every man make his choice and promptly join some party, and whatever may be his place, or sphere, faithfully attend their meetings. The pure and distinguished Bishop White punctually attended all the primary ward meetings of his party, took his place in the ranks, and was counted off for the choice of election officers, and voted at every election. He made no noise, but quietly and faithfully fulfilled his duties as a citizen. By these means public order will be maintained, bad men kept out of all parties, and awed down by moral force.

7. Meet at some place in your ward, or township, the last Saturday afternoon of the month, as often as your business shall require.

8. But meet in the day time, and never in the night, nor at a tavern or dram-shop.

Trick and fraud, cowardice and violence, shun day and respectable locations, and seek the night, and scenes of drunkenness and crime.

9. Close your doors. Let no man, unapproved by your society, come in. The disqualified are thus kept out of all parties.

10. Keep a book; register every member of your society; keep out all pimps and spies; brawlers; would-be leaders, and meddling demagogues.

Allow no speeches; appoint no committees; denounce all cabals and caucuses; and decide every current motion by a

majority upon a *vivâ voce* vote, upon the call of the roll ; and all elections by a plurality of ballots. Admit none but free white male citizens of lawful age ; and exclude from your meetings, and by law from voting, all paupers, atheists, fools, drunkards, gamblers, rioters, convicts, slaves, foreigners, defaulters, embezzlers, and all those who will not honestly earn their own livings and pay their debts ; and punish with the pains and penalties of high treason, without reprieve or pardon, every one who shall be lawfully convicted of any kind of fraud in appointments to office, or at or about any election. This was an inflexible law of the Athenians, who most rigidly executed it.

The eligibility of foreigners for office and for liberty to vote should be abolished. Its allowance was given from misdirected notions of liberality. It was an experiment ; no nation but the United States ever made the same step ; time and experience have shown its impoliey. It has been most shamefully and corruptly abused by the worst men who at home were proscribed.

Intelligent and respectable foreigners do not wish it ; and in every place where there has been a native party, its main strength and success have come from the votes of respectable foreigners, from an honest desire to keep bad men down.

It is quíté enough to open the door to all free native born of lawful age and fair character. It is very difficult to keep them in order. Honest and intelligent foreigners, who like the country and its institutions well enough to cast their children's destiny here, will be content without office or voting, with the guaranteee of an American birthright for their new-born offspring.

A board of lawful censors, consisting of twelve lawful voters, should be annually elected for each ward or election district, nine of whom should be a quorum, whose duty it should be to strike from the registry the name of every person not legally qualified, according to the foregoing restrictions.

Give them a day for a hearing, and compel them to stand the challenge of any censor or any lawful voter of the district, and let the question be tried by evidence *ex parte*, if they do not appear. The Athenians made this a law also, and further, they ordained that all candidates for office should undergo a rigid examination by a competent board, as to their entire qualifications in all respects, and that any lawful voter should be permitted to dispute their fitness and prove their charges

by competent evidence. Not one in twenty of our officers elect could stand this just ordeal.

These precautions are obviously just; no intelligent, disinterested man would object to them, and they apply with equal force to voters and candidates.

When the delegations or conferees of the parties meet in convention to prepare for the election campaign, the first and most important part of their duty is to nominate the best men in their party for the offices to be elected.

This should never be done at first by the convention; it opens a door to intrigue and corruption. A committee of five or nine of the oldest and best members should be raised to report at another meeting.

This plan being adopted recently, a similar committee from another party conferred with them; and the combined independence and impartiality of these two committees prepared for their respective parties tickets with candidates for both sides of which the community might well be proud.

By this means mere politicians are passed by, and the appropriate and necessary qualifications of the nominees have a chance to be fairly appreciated.

It is said that the conference of these joint committees elevated the views and feelings of its members, and that they were able to suggest for each other names which, from party predilections, they had respectively overlooked; and thus the legitimate resources of choice were strengthened and purified.

And in order that the arrogant and degrading abuses of parties and factions be forever broken up, there should be a nomination docket kept open in every election district for a given number of days before the election, in which should be recorded the nominations of any qualified voter, to be published in time; to which the voting should be confined, irrespective of the vulgar, clamorous, and huxtering brutality of the leading parties, who may put down by scorn and violence any squad, however pure and patriotic, but who in this way cannot circumvent the still and hidden under-current of the public will at the ballot-boxes.

In the places where this salutary precaution prevails, instances have frequently occurred of the election of persons too elevated in moral worth and official ability to suit the venal purposes of the nominating cabals of the political factions, to

their total discomfiture, and by whom the successful candidates and their constituents would have been bullied down and mobbed from the polls, if their banner had been publicly unfurled.

By these wise and just regulations, improper persons will be prevented from taking any part in the selection or voting for candidates; the whole business will fall into the hands of respectable men; and an end will be effectually put to these most treasonable acts of political fraud and corruption.

So much for political abuses, and the remedy therefor.

The extinguishing of fires, and saving property from conflagration in cities, mostly begin by the voluntary associations and exertions of respectable persons; the idle, officious, and vicious fall into the ranks, take lead in the noise and excitement, crowd out the well-behaved and honestly disposed; and finally the whole concern falls into the hands of boys, vagabonds, ruffians, and murderers, who ravage the property, profane the peace, and maraud upon the lives of the people.

These institutions should never be trusted to individual associations; there is too much at stake in these matters for anything short of the most stringent control of the law. It is wonderful that the people of the United States have so long suffered this important department of their peace and security to remain in the hands of a fierce and irresponsible mob, who receive large bounties from the public treasury, and whose demonstrations furnish so many instances of public agitation, inefficiency, and riot. They exhibit any amount of bragging and bluster, with the least evidences of success. If a building is saved by a deluge of water, and the utter destruction of its contents, the welkin is sounded over the town, as if the performers in the terrific scene of racket and violence were heroes and public benefactors; but if an explosion or a strong gale of wind intervenes, they are not then the persons found upon the house-tops, with outspread and saturated carpets and blankets, or with hooks and ladders, saving property and lives, and prostrating intervening structures to arrest the devouring flames: humane and heroic struggles, when the pinch comes, are quietly made by the unpretending citizens, and the female and infant members of their households.

Has any fire-company of boys and rabble ever invented any improvement in their machinery or apparatus, or in its use;

how to avert, or avoid, or pre-detect an explosion? How to prepare building materials indestructible by fire? Or how to do anything but rave through the streets, mangle, fight, and murder, destroy and burn each other's engines and engine-houses?

The primary political movements and the elections are influenced by these ruffians; and it has come to pass that the people are afraid of them.

In all times, their pernicious and dangerous tumults and ferocity have been deprecated. As early as the second century (A. D. 200), Pliny writes to the Emperor Trajan from the province of Bithynia, where he was governor, viz. : “A prodigious fire broke out at Nicomedia, which consumed several private houses: the town-house and the temple of Isis, though they stood on contrary sides of the street. You will consider, sir, whether it may not be advisable to institute a company of firemen, consisting only of one hundred and fifty members. I will take care, *none but those of that business shall be admitted into it; and that the privileges granted them shall not be extended to any other purpose.*” To which the emperor replied, “ You are of opinion it would be proper to constitute a company of firemen in Nicomedia, agreeably to what has been practised in several other cities. *But it is to be remembered that these sort of societies have greatly disturbed the peace of that province in general, and of cities in particular; whatever name we give them, and for whatever purpose they may be founded, they will not fail to form themselves into turbulent assemblies, however short their meetings may be. It will therefore be safer to provide such machines and force as are of service in extinguishing fires by public order, and at the public expense, and to be managed by the public authority.*”—*The Letters of PLINY, Book X, Letters 42 and 43.*

There are honorable and laudable exceptions; but it is seen by the experience of all ages that nothing but anarchy and violence ever come from leaving anything to be done by an ungoverned mob. The remedy is simple and effectual.

Cities and towns should be divided off into districts, embracing not more than four blocks, or eight hundred houses. In the centre of each district, there should be an engine and hose-house, with a bell, complete apparatus, and a chief, with a sufficient corps of able-bodied, efficient, disciplined, and enlisted men, raised and controlled by the law.

This corps should be a fire-police, to patrol its district with

a single eye for the prevention and prompt removal of combustions, neglected lights, and all the liabilities for fire; and for their instant discovery and extinguishment. By these rigid and direct precautions, a fire would seldom get headway; but when it did break out, the chief and his corps should speedily go to it, and from experience, would know how to confine even an explosion to its own locality.

If he required aid, a man, sent back to his station house, could tap the concerted signal for the corps from district No. 2, 3, or all, as occasion requires.

A cordon should be stationed round the required space, the whole proceeding, parties, lifters, carriers, property savers, buckets, plugs, engines, hose, and firemen, should all be under the immediate and absolute command of the chief of that district, and no one should be suffered to meddle or interfere but the men in service, nor one word uttered but by authority.

There would then be no wanton destruction of property, no mobs, riots, alarm, terror, robbery, or murder.

The demonstrations of brutality and boisterous outrage, now made by firemen, spring from, and find their sources in, the savage sympathies that wage and stimulate rapine and war. They have no honest object in view. They have no skill, experience, or responsibility; nothing to save or gain; and form the worst elements of a reckless and feroeious mob.

They are more remorseless and terrible than soldiers, for they claim to have the show of discipline, and the plausible formalities and sanction of law.

By day or by night, a city, surrendered to the insurrectionary roar and maniacal yells of a succession of conflicting and infuriated blood-thirsty firemen, rushing in wild and thundering tumult, presents a scene of revolting and overwhelming horror, which can find no parallel.

Lynchings and mobs are odiously wrong, without any excuse or palliation; their authors are cowards and murderers; they make no publication of their wrongs, demand no redress, keep no records, have no leaders, they allow no treaties, capitulations, appeals, or surrender, but, like pirates and banditti, sink, kill, burn, scatter, skulk, and deny.

The innocent have no chance to be heard, or time to escape, and the guilty find refuge and safety with treachery and rapine.

If any one man makes himself obnoxious, let him be lawfully punished; but impute not his offence to others, because they live in the same street, or the same sort of house; are of similar means, fortune, or persuasion.

When an illumination was had, in Philadelphia, for Perry's victory, some houses were unlighted; the dark windows of a leading member of the Federal party were pointed out as a sullen mark of insult to the general triumph; but, upon inquiry, it was found that the family were out of town, and that the house had been closed, day and night, for more than three months.

Thus, it is seen how unjust imputations against a whole portion of society, or even a single individual, may be, upon mere inference and suspicion.

The whole scope of popular conclusion and action against any man or anything, unsustained and unsupported by the legitimate and legal ascertainment of truth, is an inhuman and infamous outrage upon the civil compact, and should be promptly and instantly treated as revolt and insurrection against the people, who have pledged themselves for the settlement of all lawful complaints by legal remedies.

If a place of public amusement, or any of its managers or actors, becomes obnoxious, if it be lawful, those who do not like the place have no more right to prevent those who choose to go, from going, or to disturb or interrupt them, than those who do go have a right to force those to come who choose to stay away.

The idea of such an interference by either would be as absurd as it is villainous and vulgar; no one but a scoundrel would pretend to sanction or justify such an outrage.

If the objectionable object be a bawdy or gambling-house, do not burn or tear it down, even if there is no doubt of its being such.

There never was any law, in any civilized country, that allowed any one to be convicted by popular acclamation, or that punished offenders by mobs.

Legal punishments are severe. The keepers and occupants of all such places can, by the laws of every State, be treated as vagrants, by imprisonment, and their nuisances abated; their pursuits not being lawful; and vagrancy, meaning persons who pursue no lawful calling.

These are shocking sores, which should be cauterized off of the surface of society.

Gambling-houses engender all the worst and blackest crimes; and these other sinks of abomination destroy health, poison the constitution, encourage idleness, thieving, and debauchery, blunt the taste, and debase the morals of men, render them wholly unfit for decent society, and incapable of treating with becoming respect and delicacy chaste and respectable females. But there is no nuisance that should be abated by a mob.

The public peace is a cardinal point of public responsibility, without which there is no security for life or property, nor any confidence or faith to be reposed in the guarantees of government.

Whenever the law and its ministers fail to protect their constituents, in their persons and property, the government becomes contemptible and odious.

The difficulties in this respect would seem to come from some one of three causes: 1. An ignorance of the primary moral elements which form the character, and stimulate the conduct, of the men to be governed; 2. An ignorance, sometimes it would seem almost wilful, of the precautionary and stringent nature of the means necessary and essential for an efficient government; and, 3. The cowardice, weakness, lack of courage, morbid and criminal sympathy, and truckling subserviency, by the functionaries of the law, in favor of those who are to be restrained and governed.

The natural cunning of man is sufficient to teach him that his chance of rapine lies in trick and fraud, rather than in open violence.

Hence the severest injuries to society are perpetrated under the simulations of lawful undertakings, such as corporations, monopolies, polities, &c.

The instances of open piracy, robbery, and riots are rare. These outrages are secretly got up, and executed clamorously, and therefore, of course, the number and strength of the aggressors are always overrated.

Mobs and riots produce great terror and alarm with smaller numbers and means of aggression than is supposed. They are composed of malcontents, desperate firemen, and politicians, gamblers, thieves, and villains, who generally meet without concert, and act promptly upon excitement, and scatter.

Their weapons are clubs, dirks, knives, pistols, guns, and torches. They shoot, stab, burn, yell, and hide.

They are a contemptible nuisance, and produce the most dreadful agitation and destruction of property and life.

Their numbers, on any single occasion, rarely exceed one hundred persons. They soon attract notice and raise a tumult, but the real actors in these outrages are much fewer than is generally supposed.

At a town meeting held in September, 1850, in Philadelphia, by the citizens of all political parties, upon the proposition to consolidate that city and its districts, Judge Parsons stated that he had ascertained, by careful police and judicial inquiry, that the mobs and riots, with which that county had been so scandalously scourged for the preceding six or seven years, had at no time aggregated two hundred persons, and that one-half of these were boys.

And even if their numbers are as great as is supposed, what comparison do they bear to the whole mass?

Make an example of the city and county of Philadelphia. There were polled there in 1848, 21,508 Democratic votes; and 31,229 Whig votes; together 52,737. This was far short of all the voters. Will any one be so bold as to assert that there ever was a mob in any city on the North American Continent whose real numbers, not the crowd, but the real rowdies in which, amounted to one tithe of either of these party votes? Certainly not.

A gentleman who resided on the south side of Christian Street, a few doors west of Third Street, in the district of Southwark, in the county of Philadelphia, sat with his family at his front windows, and saw the whole mob, in all its strength, that, in 1844, attacked the Catholic church in Queen street, and convulsed the whole community with horror, which called out the sheriff, and a major-general, with a posse comitatus, and a division of the army of Pennsylvania, as if the city was under siege; and the whole of this terrible mob made ambuscade of the angles of the squares, at the corner of Third and Christian Streets, preserved silence, and from an old unmounted rusty swivel dragged there by a rope, and thrown upon the ground, in the open street, they loaded and fired at the people, and their army only one square off in Queen Street, for hours, until a sharp shooter, by the flash of their gun, saw and brought down

the only man amongst them, and then all the rest, some twelve or fifteen boys, ran away.

The excitements were strong that produced these riots, and this may perhaps be considered, relatively, as a sample of all mobs; sometimes smaller, and at other times larger, but never disciplined, or half so difficult to overcome as is supposed.

Covert and secret fraud, corporation monopolies, or broad and open violence and plunder, constitute the distinguishing features of depraved and licentious communities.

They form another revolting and hideous fungus upon the body politic, and require another appropriate knife for their effectual extirpation.

1. There should be no petty corporation board of health, poor guardians, district or county commissioners, port wardens, gas, water, or fire companies, of which there are, in some cities, fifteen or twenty; these should all be placed under one general municipal head. And there should be no banks, insurance, railroad, or other joint stock monopolies; of which there are, in some cities, hundreds. All these should be open to individual enterprise and responsibility. Corporations are more careless, loose, secret, corrupt, and irresponsible than individuals. Almost all of the embezzlements and frauds in the United States have come through incorporated institutions.

Every magistrate, judge, and juror should be fifty years old; and the magistrates and judges, before entering upon the duties of their office, should be subjected to a close and rigid examination, by a board of experienced persons, as to their qualifications and moral fitness, and, if not approved, they should be rejected; and no politician or factionist should ever be allowed to hold any office.

2. All laws abolishing imprisonment for debt, and exempting goods from execution, should be repealed, and substituted by reasonable provision for the poor, to be furnished and supplied by the Guardians of the Poor out of the public funds; so that this allowance to them should not be forced upon their creditors, whereby assessments and taxations become unequal and oppressive. There should also be provision made for writs of execution, with a clause for levying on the defendant's property, if he has any; and if not, with a clause for taking the defendant before the tribunal, issuing the writ requiring him there to show that he is honestly insolvent, and what he has

done, at least, with that for which the plaintiff's debt was made; and in default to answer under an indictment for fraud.

The earnings, habitations, and lives of honest men are in no more danger from the wolf than the rogue; both are animated by the same *animo furandi*.

The human aggressor being just so much worse than the brute as his turpitude is rational.

It is said that some are so mentally deficient as to be unable to appreciate the distinctions between right and wrong. If this is found to be true, they should be perpetually shut up, and by appropriate employment compelled to support themselves.

Some criminals plead idioey, and others allege madness. The former should be carefully restrained, and treated with humanity and tenderness. But both should be narrowly watched, for crime is conclusive evidence of a depraved and wicked heart; if not so, why is it that fools and madmen are always doing *bad* things?

Why is it that they have to be watched, to be kept from doing harm, and that they never do anything good?

If a criminal is found really to be insane, and suffering under a permanent alienation of mind, and not a transient alienation for trick and fraud, snap the tight shirt over his arms, hook his legs to a rack, shave his head, and deplete his fury.

But if he is a cheat, and dares to come to his reason, hang or shoot him, or bolt him up for life. He cannot be trusted.

If the crime be venal, or the offender be stupid, ignorant, or reckless, whip or imprison for the first offence; but if he be incorrigible, or the crime aggravated, upon a second conviction, shoot or hang him, or shut him up for life, without reprieve or pardon.

The wide world should be kept clear for the honest and industrious. Give them a fair chance to work and earn the necessary means of supply and subsistence for themselves, and those who cannot and will not work.

3. Upon conviction for fraud, battery, stealing, forgery, &c., the defendant should be sentenced to heavy imprisonment, and to pay the injured party his just damages; and for all personal violence to be publicly whipped. And why not? If he has beaten you, is it not fair that he should be beaten too? Peeuniary damages are rendered for pecuniary injuries and hurts to property and character; and why not corporeal punishments for corporal inflictions?

If the ruffians who maraud and riot knew that on conviction they were to be triced up and flogged with a cowhide, well laid on the bare back, about fifty or a hundred cuts, they would not be so expert and adroit to mob and knock down. To fine or imprison, or attempt to reform a skulking scoundrel who has cheated, robbed, and battered you, is a public invitation to every coward and bully to steal, burn, and kill.

4. Abolish capital punishment, if there is a majority against taking life; although it would seem to be absurd and mawkish to spare a wilful and open robber, house-burner, or murderer. But the safety of persons and property is a priceless jewel, which should not be desecrated or despoiled; therefore, upon a second conviction of every offence affecting the safety of either, without reprieve or pardon, shut them up for life. The first offence may have been from accident, ignorance, or excitement; but these excuses should not avail for a second perpetration. The public peace demands that such culprits should be held and treated as its incorrigible enemies.

Every city, town, and county requiring protection from marauders, should have an experienced, prudent, and resolute military officer, to be called

“THE PEACE MARSHAL,”

with power to keep equipped and disciplined for active or contingent service, an efficient military force, to patrol singly or by squads, in disguise or in column, by day and night, all highways, public places, and other localities; disperse unlawful or suspicious gatherings; silence clamors; subdue turbulence and riot, and arrest all disturbers of the peace and violators of the law, and deliver them over to the civil authorities. And as exigencies may require to invest and scour all places, and with or without warning, as the emergency may demand, scatter, cut, and shoot down all mobs and riots by muskets, cannon, or dragoons.

Police officers are generally weak and timid; they may serve civil process, or commit persons after they are arrested and secured; unarmed and singly, they never have been able to stand against, much less overcome, a mob, with bricks, stones, and firearms. Their employment, or the requisition of soldiers, without a leader, discipline, and permission to charge and fire upon such savage and lawless opposition, is a farce. Nothing will put down violence and insurrection but prompt military

attack, pursuit, and death ; and nothing but military authority and discipline will defeat the bribery and corruption of a mere civil police by criminals.

If there had been a "*Peace Marshal*," with one hundred infantry, artillery, and dragoons each, in Kensington, on the day that St. Michael's church and the market houses were burned, he would have ordered a clearing of the streets, placed the whole district under strict military guard, and there would have been no riot, mob, conflagration, or murder.

The same course would have been adopted the next day, before noon, round St. Augustine's church. A similar proceeding would have been taken a day sooner in Southwark. A like measure would have been employed early on the day of the Astor Place riot, in New York ; and the result would have been that the stores and dwellings of these locations would have been closed for a few hours or days ; but no lives would have been sacrificed, no arsons perpetrated, and no encouragement would have been given for future rapine and murder.

The sacrifice of property and life, and the humiliating concessions of the impotence and indisposition of authorities for public constraint, by these awful and degrading catastrophes, are a blot on the country, which can never be wiped away. Ages must pass before their encouraging and stimulating influences will cease to excite and prick forward the outlaw and the murderer.

The value of the conflagrated property would have paid an armed police for either city for fifty years ; and the shooting down of ten thousand murdering ruffians, much less the fine and imprisonment of half a dozen, could not atone for the loss of one innocent life.

At any cost—even if it be by the instant destruction of every rioter, as if he were a ferocious wild beast—the public peace, the persons, property, and lives of society should be sacredly preserved and protected ; and all violence and rapine, the instant it rears its hydra head, should be crushed for ever into the earth, without delay, compunction, compassion, or remorse.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### POLITICS.

Delusion—Cabals—Factions—Examples—Venality—Primary meetings—Printers—Politicians' ignorance—House of Representatives in 1849—Benton and Foote, in the Senate—Primary meetings—Elections—Good men deterred, &c.—Extracts.

POLITICAL pursuits have fascinated, misled, and ruined thousands.

*Amor patriæ* is the ostensible beginning of this captivating occupation ; but it is soon lost amidst the mazes of faction.

The genuine spirit of patriotism is swallowed up in the excitements of party strife, and gives way to passion for victory.

These factions are led and ruled by hungry cormorants for spoils and plunder ; and the loyal rank and file expend their time and money, and expose their health, characters, and lives, through all the boisterous violence, intrigue, and corruptions of successive campaigns, to witness the translation of their artful leaders into places of profit and power. This is the only harvest ever cut by the political reapers.

In front of this cordon of orators, torch-lights, and revolution, are found the indomitable and imperturbable candidates for office.

It is said of this heroic band, that no one of them was ever known to fight or sweat from heat, to shiver from cold, blush from shame, or look you in the eye.

They are impervious to heat, cold, insult, and shame.

The predominating trait in their character is a persevering, unflinching pursuit and cringing cowardice for office ; they never despair, but scent up, and howl out for prey, like hungry wolves, till flesh is cast between their greedy jaws. Their tergiversation, treachery, and total disregard of all faith put them upon the footing of common blacklegs ; and most of them are covertly or openly professed and practical gamblers.

They will spin yarn, weave tape, bribe, swear falsely, forge election returns, and buy and sell votes and offices ; give

pledges to all sides, and for any purpose ; swear to keep their promises, and afterwards repudiate them.

#### ARTS OF FACTION.

“They who enter into a faction do not properly reason weakly ; but desert reason altogether, as one does who leaves his own to go into another country, whereof the laws, customs, and language are different. The design and centre of faction is to drive on such a project, and adhere to those who prosecute it. And therefore nothing must be allowed or argued but with respect to these. Hence it is, that in vain you reason with them ; for one may transubstantiate as soon as convert them ; all that their friends say is unanswerable, and they contemn and scorn what is said by their adversaries when they cannot answer it ; there is no erime they dare not commit, for the guilt seems but small when divided amongst so many bearers ; they warm themselves, by clubbing into a kind of belief, and they vote themselves into a shadow of infallibility ; whilst they cry out against others as slaves to the government, they become really slaves to the faction, their liveries and chains being seen by all except themselves. But the great salary with which their bondage is to be rewarded is applause from their friends, or it may be the mob, to whom naturally their appeal lies ; and the getting into the government, where they will be abhorred for practieing everything they formerly decried, and so have that reputation for which they toiled, blasted by their own old arguments.”—SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE, *Essay on Reason*, p. 441.

At every important eleetion in the United States, all these erimes are openly and publicly perpetrated, and never prosecuted.

At every legislative session, bribery and corruption stalk at noonday. Presidents, governors, senators, and members log-roll, are dined, supped, eomplimented with watches, and pretended presents, and loans by each other and by candidates ; and participate in the most degrading reciprocations of syeophantic servility, intrigue, and fraud.

No measure can be carried without in-door and out-door secret and sordid stimulations. Members are hired and paid like brokers, to bargain and intrigue for the passage and defeat of laws. The respectable members are always in the minority ;

they have no influence ; and their speeches and protests are rudely and brutally gagged down.

High-minded men have resigned, and refused to re-serve, from disgust at these revolting scenes of iniquity and treason. Indeed, no gentleman of purity and independence can demean himself by feasting and social interchanges with gamesters, drunkards, defaulters, embezzlers, and political vagabonds, as is practiced at the seats of legislation ; and those who make pretensions of respectability, and from sinister motives secretly participate in these humiliations, are sordid hypocrites.

Committees have repeatedly reported these abuses. No instance has occurred of a legislative or judicial prosecution, out of the numerous flagrant instances of uncontradicted corruption and villainy, which have been reported. On the contrary, they laugh off the most infamous perpetration ; make a joke of ostensible reasons ; and conceal the sinister and secret motives for all legislative action.

Curious instances of infatuation and treachery occur with politicians, that find no parallel in the other spheres of life, not even amongst thieves.

An accomplished and faithful deputy, upon the death of his principal, applied for the vacant post ; obtained honorable introduction, and abundant recommendations to the nominating power ; and amongst these documents he found one of them sealed. This was from a pretended patron, high in office. His restless curiosity and strong suspicions forced out from its envelope the missile of treacherous duplicity ; he found an unsheathed poniard to his hopes.

“ SIR—The bearer is an aspirant for the office of —— ; he has desired me to recommend him ; and of course I have said I would. A more presumptuous or impertinent solicitation was never made. He must not be appointed ; nor must he know why.”

Upon the success of a party candidate for governor, some years since, a certain clique was supposed to have control over the appointing power. An eager aspirant for an inspectorship, worth some five thousand dollars per annum, obtained the required recommendations, and handed them to one of these distinguished and trusty leaders, who, by pretended arrangement, was to obtain the commission. Disappointment followed ; another got the office.

This failure seemed mysterious; the leader was pressed and pushed for explanation; he expressed apparent displeasure at the governor, and charged him with direct infidelity. The defeated inspector writhed in doubt. Some months afterwards, he obtained a private interview with the governor, and requested to know the reason for this oversight. The governor did not comprehend, and invited him to make a free and frank disclosure. This request was fully complied with; and the governor's reply was, a total ignorance of the whole affair. "Well, sir," said the applicant, "now it is too late; but pray, sir, there was time then; why not intimate to my friend that there was not enough, or hand him back my packet? You did not return it; nor did you answer my friend." "What do you mean, sir? Who was your friend?" "It was Mr. \_\_\_\_\_. " "Well, go to him, and tell him he never gave me your letter, nor mentioned your name to me."

The parting was mutually abrupt. The leader was sought, arraigned, accused, reproached, and in silence quietly bore the storm. "Why don't you speak? What can you say? Is it so that you did not give him the letters? Is it true that you did not mention my name? Say, sir, what did you do with my packet? where is it? Will you speak?" "Well, when you will let me, I will speak. You certainly were not such a fool as to suppose we were in earnest? Your bundle was burned!" "Burned! why there was\_\_\_\_\_" "Oh, yes; I know that; I took that out before I burned it. I found several others in the same way; your bonus was pitifully small; you ought to be ashamed of such meanness." "You villain! you infernal thief!" said the assailant; "give me my hundred dollars! give it back, or I'll prosecute you for stealing!" "Very well; then I'll indict you for an attempt at bribery." "I'll sue you for the money. I will assign the claim, and swear I lent you the hundred dollars." "You can't do it." "Yes, I can; there is Steel and the Phoenix Insurance Company, that ruled that a party may sell his claim, and be a witness; you seem as cold and indifferent as a rock." "Yes, and I intend to remain so; do your best, my lad! Steel and the Insurance Company was overruled by Patterson against Reed! Ha!! ha!! ha!! ha!!"

The primary meetings of all politicians are scenes of fraud, corruption, and violence. A discontented faction of a party decided upon a certain set of men for delegates; and their re-

turn to the general conference, is forced up by party minions, without regard to suffrage.

Five ward delegates, elected by eighty-seven ballots against three, were returned upon the authority of nineteen affidavits. The minority, this three, over their grog at the bar down stairs, impudently forged a ward meeting report, by which they returned themselves and two others as the delegates; and this last set were received, while the true and real delegates were rejected by the general ward delegation.

The Democratic party was thus deprived of its legitimate nomination for a governor; its strength was divided and scattered; and the power of the State was thrown into the hands of a corrupt and irresponsible faction, who sold its honor and purity to a vile and rotten corporation.

The extravagance, peculation, and corruptions which followed involved that State in debts and moral defalcations which ages cannot remove.

The compacts and bargains of politicians are distinguished for the largest pretensions of public good, and the most hollow deceptions and treachery. Being inherently bent on mischief, and radically deficient in all the impulses which influence honest men, their associations are formed for the sinister purpose of deceiving the public, and defrauding each other.

They never combine, if they can act separately. No politician ever holds confidential communication with an equal, or a superior, or with his menials and puppets, except so far as is necessary to accommodate and promote his own interest.

He is exclusively sinister, selfish, and sordid; he has no mercy, compunctions, or remorse; and never foregoes an opinion or prejudice which concerns his own advantage, however he may profess to do so.

He has the cunning of the pickpocket, the effrontery of the footpad, the cowardice of the assassin, and the cold-blooded depravity of the conventional marauder.

His secret selfish spirit is exhibited on every emergency. From interest and policy, he will affect to relax the severity of his resolutions; but, unless the advantage overbalances the force of his passions, even while he reaps the harvest of a compromise, he will betray his dogged obstinacy.

This hidden subtilty is found with brutes and reptiles, and strongly indexes the surprising feeling of self, which occupies

the heart, and predominates over the secret impulses of every living thing which preys upon society.

A singular instance of this dark and lurking propensity is exposed by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, in his message to the French Assembly, on the 31st day of October, 1849, announcing the dismissal of his cabinet.

He had selected his ministers from the conflicting factions, and they had solemnly promised to compromise their opinions, and maintain a cordial spirit of mutual confidence for one great purpose.

He animated this resolution by personal kindness and concession for nearly a year; but found that his efforts for conciliation were taken for weakness; and, instead of producing a fusion of different shades of opinion, he had only neutralized open force; and that, so soon as they had obtained power, rivalries were renewed, and the country was secretly agitated with disorder and anarchy.

There would seem to be no means of approaching, much less reforming, these selfish passions of the politician; and where they are compromised for purposes of mutual cupidity, let the result be biter or bitten, by the parties, they deserve no better sympathies than that induced by the fable of the thief and the boy.

The thief was implored to strip, and descend to the bottom of a deep well, for a silver pitcher, which the weeping child had casually dropped into the well; and while the thief was engaged in the secret effort to steal the pitcher, which was not there, the boy ran off with his clothes.

In this connection, it should not be slurred that much public abuse is practiced by that class of politicians who are engaged in the publication of party newspapers. These artful and pretended vehicles of important information and instruction for the farmers, and the quiet and industrious portions of society, are got up by factions, who select a practical printer, generally ignorant and needy, who becomes a willing slave to his masters, and soon exhibits presumptuous demonstrations of arrogance.

The country has been scourged with these impudent and vulgar cormorants. They wander about from place to place, with no motive but sordid gain, and claim, for their vagrant origin and vagabond vocations, the merit of pious emulation.

They affect an intimate knowledge of all science and learning,

without any education except the mechanical acquirements of a printing room. They call Franklin their father, and demand from all men his paternal heritage; omitting to take the rebuke found for them in the fact that, of the thousands of printers in this century who have been colonels, generals, Congressmen, and senators, there has not emitted from their combined genius the ten thousandth particle of intellect that beamed from one silken hair of that great man's head.

Who of these political printers ever wrote a valuable essay or book, made a discovery or invention in arts, sciences, mechanics, or agriculture? or contributed in any way to the morals, honor, or happiness of the people?

There is no instance in which they have as politicians reflected credit upon, or increased the character of, their country.

Those of them who have obtained offices of power have generally proved themselves incompetent.

Some of them by intrigue, but few by merit, have reached the House of Representatives, and some two or three of them have obtained seats in the Senate; where they have displayed gold snuff-boxes, large finger-rings, and jewelry; had themselves puffed and paragraphed in the faction newspapers; floated about at the hotels; and, occasionally, talked large and impudent in debate. But no one of them has ever shown learning, research, industry, or mental power.

No political printer in the United States, since the days of Franklin, ever composed or wrote down a bright original thought, or made an eloquent or logical speech. They clamor, and scold, and abuse; but their affectations of learning and intellect are empty and ephemeral, and upon a par with their kite-catching vocation.

A wide sphere for deception and fraud is afforded in the free and popular character of the public institutions of the United States. There is too great a disposition to encourage and reward party champions; and these are immense incitements and temptations for the ambitious and giddy, lying in the whole range of the primary meetings of the people, up to the conventions of the nation; and from the office of the secretary of a junto up to the Presidency of the United States.

The leisure and gleanings of office, which are twice as numerous as necessary, eclipse the wages and seclusion of labor; and the infatuations of station and power captivate the idle, the vain, and the extravagant. Under these influences, thousands

crowd into public arenas; make loud and zealous professions of patriotism; and reform, get up, and complete the political movements and elections, and then scramble like hungry wolves for the spoils.

The public good with them is but a secondary consideration; everything is made subsidiary to their grasp for plunder, and the security for their continuance in power.

A singular instance of the destructive effects produced by this step-stone of infatuation is but the history of countless office-hunters.

A well-educated, industrious, and successful lawyer, under the false and fatal delusion that his business would increase by political popularity, permitted himself to be elected to Congress, lost all his practice, contracted a passion for office, and humiliated himself in pursuit of a foreign embassy—a territorial, executive or judicial station, a consulate, an Indian agency, a tide-waiter, anything; was disappointed, discouraged, took to drink, and died a beggar!

Another instance occurred of a respectable young lawyer, who embarked into polities under the delusive expectation also that it would bring him business.

It was not long before his eloquence and address obtained the admiration and applause of his own party, and of course the jealousy and hatred of his adversaries.

He was tendered flattering nominations and appointments, but declined them as foreign to his scheme for patronage. A rupture occurred in his party, with the majority of which he remained; he reproved the revolting faction with scorching severity, and soon came to be a popular and formidable demagogue; and just as he was essential for the triumph of his own side, he became obnoxious to the others; they were stung to the quick by his ready wit, keen sarcasm, and surprising powers of vindication and assault.

He was persecuted and publicly insulted, and finally in the night was mobbed and beaten, first by the faction from his own party, and afterwards by the opposite party. At last his eyes were opened, the delusion vanished, and he saw the career of madness and infatuation in which he had been groping.

He saw that men of true respectability did not respect those who take an active part in polities; that not more than one-half of them vote on either side; and if they do vote, it is for the few decent men on both tickets indifferently—if there happen

to be any such on the tickets, which is very rare; that when they have real occasion for the services of lawyers, they employ those whose entire time and qualifications can be obtained.

That almost all party leaders are lazy and dissolute; that they have no decent business for a lawyer, and no money to pay for it; that they subsist by dishonest means, and prematurely perish as paupers or malefactors; and that a lawyer has no right to expect the countenance or patronage of respectable business men, however well qualified and industrious he may be, when his office is occupied by idlers with their hats on, and their feet on his table, smoking cigars, engaged in loud and vulgar conversation; and that to obtain and hold the confidence of the respectable part of the community, he must devote his whole time and attention to his studies and his business, keep no bad company, and utterly reject all the allurements of office and judicial patronage, and maintain towards the court a respectful but resolute course of independence.

That a thorough education, clear head, and industry are essential to the arduous duties of a lawyer.

These solemn sober second thoughts wakened up his slumbering and bewildered reason, and he discovered that his mind, talents, and time had been used for the brutal gratifications of vulgar vagabonds; and thereafter he abstained from their debasing amalgamations.

That same year his practice increased more than fifty per cent., and he sustained through a long life a character distinguished for acknowledged worth and integrity. When, in later days, he warned his faithfully and well-trained sons against these deceitful currents and dangerous quicksands, he discovered that he had hearers like he who had thirty years before listened to the wisdom and solid experience of his own father. Here was an instance in which there was mental and moral energy enough left to shake loose from political infatuation; but the instances are rare in which this can be done.

With the indolent and licentious, politics is a mania; and even with educated and respectable persons it is sometimes ungovernable. Persons engaged in these pursuits contract an utter repugnance to all the occupations of labor, and loaf about, and soon sink away into total degradation. Honorable and lucrative pursuits are frequently abandoned for uncertain chances of insignificant appointments: and members of State Legislatures and of Congress have almost exclusively employed

their official term for the express purpose of obtaining some other post.

If a measure of aid, relief, or supply comes in from the executive or the departments, a rush is made for its support, and in and out of doors there is a degrading servility to the sources of patronage.

The competition, embezzlements, and oppressions of a very large number of those who have held authority in this country, "the insolence of office, the law's delay," demonstrate the same morbid depravity and treason to the people everywhere exposed in all ages, and conclusively establish the terrible and alarming truth that the free institutions of the United States would have long since been subverted and forgotten, but for the wholesome, effectual, and triumphant revolution wrought out by the people at every election; and that, although the advocates of free governments do not attribute to these institutions the power to reclaim those bent on mischief, yet that the powerful and recuperative tendencies of republican institutions so enlighten and qualify the well disposed for self-government, that they can keep themselves extricated from the frauds and oppressions of the wicked and despotie, when they choose to exert their power.

Appointments are not made from the best men, irrespective of party, and for the general good; nor from the best men of the dominant party; but from the best party men—those who are the most thorough and exclusive in their party resolutions; and this rule applies to their present and most suitable adaptation to the secret purposes of party intrigue, without the least regard to any other consideration. Whether they have been consistent party men, or have been over and over apostates, spies, and traitors—have recently come in, or never have been in the party—is wholly immaterial, if then, at the pinching time for cement and security, they can be relied upon for secret faith and certain execution.

Mr. Polk was not selected for President and run in by his party for any great or extraordinary public act he ever performed, or any pretended capacity he had for doing great things, but solely because the tricksters behind the scenes knew that, by reason of his rigorous fidelity and address in executing the secret caueus measures of his party while Speaker of the House of Representatives, he was to be safely depended on for party emergencies.

In this they did not fail, for no man ever served a faction with faith and loyalty more true.

What other President dared to repeat three times, and rudely press back, rejected nominations of misereant factionists, or wink at the corruption and peculation of political favorites?

It is a private sordid purpose, and not the general good that governs in all these party movements.

The most competent and effieient, with unanimous nomination by their own party, endorsed by thousands, will be thrust aside for one only known as a politician in the opposite ranks, and as a sly associate of knaves and cheats, a covetous Shylock, in all the relations of trust and honor—a bankrupt to ruined corporations, and a Croesus to his private coffers—if his venal character will but suit the purposes of fraud and power.

From the highest to the lowest, in every age, and with every faction, and with all politieal parties, these have been the corrupt and cardinal rules of seeret action, and they are as much distinguished for their ignorance and lack of sagacity as for their reckless depravity.

At the meeting of the United States House of Representa-tives in December, 1849, one party had nearly one hundred votes, and the other polled upwards of one hundred votes for the office of Speaker. Some ten votes were required by one party, and twenty or thirty votes for the other party, to make a majority; more than this number scattered off and played shy. The parties soon arrayed themselves against each other, and each demanded from the other the nomination of new candidates.

If the democrats had succeeded, they would have held the legislative control, and baffled the President for at least two years. The other party had the same chance, with its executive power and patronage superadded; and yet both parties were too stupid, or dumb, or ignorant, to see, what every man of sagacity at a glance did see, that it is almost impracticable to prevail upon a faction to relinquish its purposes, to give up an opinion, or to listen to truth or persuasion; that these are matters which a faction does not understand or think it has any concern with; that movements of this radical character can never be accomplished by the yielding of one side, if the influences are equal on both sides, and neither possesses or has power to employ alehemical fusions; and also that in all squads there are a plenty who are in the market at any priece.

These obvious and almost tangible propositions appear to have been wholly uncomprehended; and thus for weeks they wasted their strength, and exposed their donkeyism; while tens upon tens of members on both sides were anxiously waiting, and eagerly watching for sops, promises, and rewards to flunk or scatter. Out upon the ignorance and stupidity of politicians! Quacks and conjurors, Brandreth and Robaek have bigger bumps for trick and skill than they.

When General Jackson visited Boston, and Mr. Fillmore succeeded President Taylor, they had the degree of LL.D. conferred upon them, from motives which could not have been excited for them out of the presidential chair.

General Jackson was a brave soldier and a pure patriot, and Mr. Fillmore was honest and industrious, and an enterprising politician.

They did not either of them devote their minority to study, nor to any more reading than was required for the loose and superficial rules of admission and practice before the backwoods' squires and country courts.

They made no pretensions to a collegiate, much less a finished, education; to discoveries in science; to a knowledge of, or the authorship of, choice works; or even to an acquaintance with the languages, without which no intimate or familiar knowledge can be acquired of the profound research and mental acquirements of the scholars of former or modern times.

An excuse for the former was given, by reference to his letter of rebuke to the nullifiers; but Mr. Edward Livingston was known to be the author.

No one but a finished, profound, and thoroughly disciplined and experienced scholar could have devised and composed that masterly State paper.

Cambridge and Geneva would not have conferred this degree on these gentlemen if they had not been Presidents of the United States; and the objects of this servile ostentation ought to have refused to accept them.

Thousands of the bright and illustrious scholars of America were thus passed by and slighted, and their deep learning and profound erudition slurred to accommodate the miserable vanity of cringing demagogues.

Boards of trustees and faculties, in the arts and sciences, desecrate this pure token of glorious fame, chastely and delicately designed as a just and humble reward to human wisdom

and exalted genius, when they confer it upon men who have never taken any previous degrees in the forums of learning, and whose only pretension to distinction is a transient and accidental translation from obscurity to power.

And it is difficult for an intelligent, impartial, and disinterested lover of truth and justice to distinguish between the amount of odium and scorn which thus inevitably enures to the giver and the receiver both.

A negro slave, by a warrant, in the custody of the United States Marshal, before a United States judge, in Boston, is rescued by a casual mob of twenty or thirty negroes.

The President of the United States issues his proclamation, announcing, in terms of indignation and amazement, this insurrectionary effort to dismember the Union; and invokes the patriotism of the people of Boston, and the whole country, to bring the culprits to condign punishment.

The Senate of the United States wakes up in terror and dismay, with a fierce and peremptory demand from the President for an official explanation of this terrific eruption; who presently reports, by executive message, half an hour long, reciting his proclamation horrors, and all the laws giving him command-in-chief of the army and navy of the nation in cases of insurrection; and deplored the want of a sword of a sufficient curve to reach this critical refinement in treason; and demanding more plenary and pungent capacities for the action of the commander-in-chief.

Who but a new-fledged, vaporizing demagogue would have made this impudent pretext for popular and vapid display?

What had the President to do but quietly give orders to the proper department instantly to dismiss that marshal, and appoint a proper man?—no cringing, cowardly politician, but a true and proper man, with energy and courage enough to detail and arm five hundred or five thousand deputy marshals, and promptly execute the process of the court, and send his bill of the cost of it to the government to be paid.

There was no army, navy, or commander-in-chief, or President, or Senate, or proclamation, or message required; and this vapid and gasconading promulgation was an ignorant and presumptuous perversion of the national dignity and honor for ostentatious display.

No other President of the United States would have thus degraded the high functions of office for political popularity.

And this insolent liberty with executive duty would not have been perpetrated by Mr. Fillmore, if he had been within a term, after the expiration of which he had no chance of a re-election.

In the Senate of the United States, April 17, 1850, "Mr. Foote was proceeding with some sarcastic and pungent remarks, evidently in allusion to Mr. Benton, but had said nothing sufficiently open and offensive to justify the chair in calling him to order, when Mr. Benton rose, much agitated, and throwing his chair from him, proceeded by the narrow passage outside the bar towards Mr. Foote's seat, which is on the outside row of seats, near the main entrance to the Senate.

"Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, and Mr. Dodge, of Wisconsin, apprehending a collision between Mr. Benton and Mr. Foote, endeavored to detain the former from moving from his seat. Overcoming all resistance, he continued towards Mr. Foote, who, leaving his place, stepped down the main aisle, and took a position in the area, just in front of the sergeant-at-arms' seat, at the right of the Vice-President, at the same time drawing a pistol from his bosom, and cocking it.

"The scene which ensued is indescribable.

"Loud calls for the sergeant-at-arms were made, and cries of order! resounded from all sides of the chamber.

"Many persons rushed from the galleries and out of the chamber, in apprehension of a general *mélée*.

"Several senators surrounded Mr. Foote, among whom was Mr. Dickinson, who, seuring the pistol, locked it up in his desk."

This scene would never have been enacted by men under the influence of any of the ordinary excitements of our nature.

It was produced by extraordinary and savage impulses. War and piracy seem to be pricked on by the same irritations which madden and beat up the savage propensities of gamblers, fanatics, and politicians.

They have no respect for others, and recognize nothing as sacred, venerable, or dignified.

If Mr. Foote, before he put the pistol in his pocket, was convinced that Mr. Benton would stab or shoot him the instant he entered the Senate chamber, he had no right to take the pistol to defend himself with. Such a defence must result in a fight which, under no provocation, he had a right to participate in there, or it would end in the death of Mr. Benton,

which would have degraded the country just as much as if Mr. Benton had murdered Mr. Foote.

The omission presently to expel them both, and the appointment of a committee to ascertain and report facts which were all disclosed to the notice, and which occurred within the personal view of the Senate, and the sham report of the committee, were an insult to the people, and betrayed the censurable sympathy of senators for insubordination, and the selfish and private propensity they have to construe these indignities to the nation as their own personal affairs, and over which they have compromising supervision; that is to say, to put themselves in the place of the people, to make themselves superior to the country, and insolently trifle with the majesty of the Constitution and laws of their masters and sovereigns.

If it had been regarded as necessary or formal to have the facts placed on the records, this could have been done by one line thrown into the body of the resolution for expulsion, to wit: "*That Benton approached Foote in a menacing manner, whereupon Foote drew and cocked his pistol at him.*" This was enough, and no rest, no debate, no adjournment, should have been suffered until their expulsion had been voted, and the sergeant-at-arms had vindicated the insulted and desecrated honor of the nation by casting them from the chamber.

It is the place and the occasion, and not the persons, or the lives of individual senators, which are to be first considered.

Mr. Foote mistook his position, his duty, and the representative relation in which he stood. His country, its honor and dignity, should have been first in his mind, and he was recreant and selfish to postpone or compromise those elevated inspirations for the indulgence of his temper. His pride and his life were of no value compared to his glorious functions as a sovereign senator; and he was imbecile and groveling to over-think them for himself or his life for an instant.

A servant of the people has no right to neglect or desert his duty for his private affairs, for quarrels or duels; if he finds that he has not sufficient fidelity, honor, and self-control to engross his whole time and service for his country, he should resign.

Non-resistance may be a duty and a virtue in the council and in the field both, as much as the most desperate and heroic fighting would be a virtue and a duty in the hour of battle.

Soldiers are sometimes commanded to stand still in solid column for hours, in the face of a galling and destructive fire.

It may be essential for a manœuvre upon the success of which the fate of a nation depends. If a division under orders to take post and receive the enemy's fire should retaliate, the enemy might change his front or shift his position, when, if either of them had been retained a moment longer, a counter-movement, under the eye of a skillful general, might have secured his total defeat.

This severe exposure, by which thousands of lives have perished, is not less trying to the courage than the resolute exercise of unflinching self-denial and self-government, amidst rudeness, abuse, persecution, and violence in the forenoon, patient endurance and unwavering submission in both of these terrific emergencies are absolutely required for success and victory.

The cases are entirely analogous, the duty for both occasions prescribed by the dictates of reason, and all civil and military tactics is that the soldier and the senator shall implicitly obey the orders, and maintain the honor and dignity, of his country, utterly regardless of life or limb.

And there is just as much reason why a recreant member of any legislative body should be instantly and without trial struck down dead by the sergeant-at-arms, as there is for inflicting this summary punishment upon a revolting soldier in the heat of battle.

They are both aware of their duty beforehand. If they do not think they will have courage to meet the dangers which they know they will be exposed to, they should stay away; or if, after they have assumed the duty and tested the ordeal upon their tempers and cowardice, they discover lack of nerve or moral courage, they should back out, beg off, resign, or desert.

But let them not dare to grasp for or revel in the spoils of place and power, amidst the secret and skulking subterfuge of treachery and treason.

And it is mean in them to attempt to crawl out of the responsibility of these violations of duty by the whining and cowardly excuse that they have acted from impulse and in self-defence.

Legislative brawls are generally preceded by threats; the parties are bullies, and require time and patting up for fight.

Mr. Benton and Mr. Foote had understood each other some

days before, and General Foote admitted that he had put the pistol into his pocket for General Benton.

It was not a sudden blow in a gust of anger; and if it had been so, that, like intoxication, does not excuse, but aggravates wrong.

There is no man of ordinary intelligence who does not know in his own heart whether he can or cannot govern his temper; if he distrusts his firmness, he should not assume the uncertain management of vacillating and unsafe impulses; he should stay at home; by these exposures, he loses all public and private east, confidence, respect, and sympathy.

A legislator on duty has no more right to talk about himself and his own affairs than a judge from the bench or a preacher in his pulpit has a right to gabble about his private agonies; and the judge and the priest, with the same propriety and license, might threaten and attempt to flog and shoot any one they had a spite at, as for a member of any public convention to do it.

The clergyman or judge who should thus violate the rules of good order, and common respect for the feelings of the public, would be despised and shunned as a ruffian or a pagan.

There is no difference between these cases and the same violation by legislators, except that the church and the court-house would soon be deserted by the audience. Whereas the Senate chamber will never be abandoned by the rabble so long as the prize-fighters in the ring are well fed and hissed on.

These gladiators seem to forget that they are servants and not masters; that, while they are in their official places, their names should be only used for designation, and their persons and faculties as mere organs of representative duty.

That their allegiance demands the devotion of all their energies for pacification; that personalities, incivility, harsh language, and rash conduct, wholly destroy all their influence and usefulness.

That it is their high and solemn duty, in profound wisdom, and with anxious persuasion, to forbear, conciliate, and compromise, and in respectful silence implicitly submit to majorities.

And that all these things should be reverently and devoutly done even at the peril of their lives.

They are dispatched from the people as missionaries, for promoting national peace and preserving constitutional concord, and not for clamor, insurrection, and revolution.

It is just as essential for the attainment of success in legisla-

tion most resolutely to abstain from violence and force as it is necessary, for success in battle, fearlessly and promptly to employ violence and force both.

In the first case, they are elements of certain defeat; and in the latter case, they are most inevitably necessary and essential for victory: menace, violence, and deadly weapons are overt acts of high treason in a legislative body; just as much as it would be perjury and treason not to use and employ violence with the most sanguinary and deadly resolution, if so required, on the field of battle.

The man who sinks the dignity of his high and holy station in the council chamber of his country, surrenders himself to the fierce and ferocious control of his factious and vulgar temper, and lifts his arm, his poniard, or his pistol, against his peer, could not be trusted in the heat of battle; self, sordid, secret self, would burst his errant soul at the bastion or the breach, and he would creep away and skulk off like a kill sheep dog.

Such a miscreant would have but one course left for immortality, and that would be to blow his own brains out. If dead, from contempt he might be forgotten; but while living, he could obtain no countenance or toleration, and must be held in utter scorn and detestation by every honest man.

Suppose jurors were to act thus in open court; they would be presently committed to prison. Or suppose judges on the bench were to act in like manner; would they not be impeached and dismissed from office? Would the public allow such men to continue in power? Certainly not. And where is the difference, except that senators hold higher and more sacred places, which increases their obligations for duty, and that they are not amenable to a direct supervisory tribunal for punishment, wherefore they take advantage of this immunity, and, like all politicians who are callous to the contempt and scorn of the people, turn their backs upon their masters, and audaciously continue to hold the seats they have desecrated?

It cannot be denied, nor can it be too often repeated, that a legislator desecrates his duty and his oath when he permits his individual exactions to take place of his representative duty, even at the peril of his life.

That it is the occasion and his position, and not his sensibilities, or even his life, that are to be first regarded: and, when he abandons and betrays the honor of his country, for the vulgar indulgence of his pride or his anger, in personal assaults, or

with deadly weapons upon his colleagues, he becomes a traitor to his country, and should be instantly voted from his seat by the members who have witnessed his treason.

No personal disrespect is intended to the senators named. The statement of the transaction is an extract from the *Philadelphia Ledger*, written by an eye-witness, published in all the papers, and never contradicted. The only purpose here is to mark down the fierce and intractable temper of man; the reckless selfishness of politicians; the insult, in this instance, to the nation; and the high obligation every citizen in this republic is under, whether in or out of office, to respect, revere, and obey the sovereign people, and their free and sacred institutions.

Soldiers and legislators, under all emergencies, should govern themselves by the heroic spirit and stern devotion that so eminently distinguished the Roman sentinels who, eighteen hundred years after they had been buried alive, were found at their posts in the ramparts of Herculaneum, and Pompeii, as firm, erect, and armed at all points, as they were when these cities were buried up by the volcanic eruptions of Mount Vesuvius.

At the outset, politicians are too often good for nothing, and wholly destitute of the elements of true manhood; and if at the beginning they have a few good qualities, the indulgences and practices they pursue soon destroy all the good there is about them.

They procure themselves to be constantly lithographed, and slung up in the windows and at the corners, and puffed by paragraphs, poked into the newspapers, until every manly and proud attribute they have is choked off by egotism and self-conceit.

By these deceptions, they sometimes fraudulently work themselves up into a sort of artificial eminence in the public eye; but, as a general rule, they are decidedly below the second-rate order of character and talents.

Thousands engaged in the common pursuits of life are far superior to them. The newspapers are paid by them to get up and encourage a fashion to flatter, and coneeide to them the possession and display of strong powers and sagacity; but this is false and fietitious, for there is scarcely one of them in a lifetime who exhibits as much intellect and success as a score do in private life in a single day or month; and very few of them

have ever had energy and talents enough to earn their own bread by any personal pursuit.

They are generally lazy, intemperate, licentious, prodigal, and profane; essentially selfish, with no governing or controlling spirit of patriotism; their country is a secondary consideration; their ever present and overruling passion is self, the thirst to get and hold office, and the hunger for preferment and promotion.

The personal pronoun "*I*" is forever on their lips; they can talk of nothing but themselves; the first lesson of decorum and good-breeding taught by every intelligent mother, not to speak of one's self, or to or of others in terms of defiance or challenge, forms no part of the practical or mental discipline of a politician.

Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Webster, Mr. Benton, Mr. Cass, Mr. Van Buren, and Mr. Clay, who are amongst the most respectable statesmen of the United States, have spent half their lives in ostentatious and vapid definitions of their positions, and unrelieved for vindications of their public acts; they have all been standing and veteran candidates for the Presidency.

These avowed and encouraged aspirations afford them wide and hidden influencees.

The incentive for sinister intrigue is so overwhelming that their disinterested and sterling independence is put in jeopardy.

Such immense power, and its perilous proximity to secret temptations, wholly forbid the propriety of their official tenure; and the dictates of honor and delicacy demand that such incumbents should resign.

Unless men possess very high and elevated attributes of patriotism and sound good sense, such as distinguished George Washington and Roger Sherman, political occupations seem to degenerate, and not improve the character.

The true remedy for this, and all other evils springing from abuses of office, is to break up the practice of their indefinite tenure, and confine them to a single term.

They get no wiser for the good of the people, but more crafty for themselves, arrogant, and headstrong.

Some of these veterans in office have done serious mischief to the State; they have drawn in question settled national and constitutional law, fanned up the flames of discord, and made sad and mournful the best hopes of the patriot.

The undisguised truth and explanation of all these excitements in Congress is not that which appears upon the face of the enactments of the parties, to wit, patriotism and right, but the fierce spirit of party and faction strife, stimulated by hope, and covert schemes for power and place.

If any seven or nine intelligent and honest men were selected free from these infatuations, the whole dispute about slavery and New Mexico could have been honorably settled in ten days.

But, when Messrs. Clay, Benton, Webster, and half a dozen more senators and representatives, are rabid for the Presidency—and more than every other man of all the rest of both Houses are equally ferocious for embassies, contracts, schemes, and tricks, and preferments, from the coming presidents, all the candidates for which they are secretly leagued with—how is it to be expected that the country shall not be the victim of refinements in plots and frauds by this bevy of adroit and audacious gamblers?

The ostensible object of all political strife is to correct alleged abuses. All objects of preferment, gain, or office are disclaimed; and where this is the real object, the demand for inquiry and investigation should not be restrained. In this pursuit for truth, there should be no falsehood or abuse, no appeal to the passions, or invidious comparisons between the rich and the poor; this is impudent and vulgar; it is as much as to say, and equivalent to telling a man that he is honest or decent, which implies doubts, and suggests vindication. Everything on such occasions should be conducted and done openly and decorously, as if in a court of justice, and, if wrong is detected, it should be punished.

Town meetings and elections should be regarded as the fore-rooms of the country, and their speech and conduct should be as circumspect as those of judicial tribunals. The appeal is to the ballot box, the altar upon which all hopes for liberty rest: that place of rebuke to the demagogue, and redress for the people; that boon for hope against wrong; that bloodless civil war and lawful revolution. All this is manlike and noble; no force should be allowed: and the man who uses violence or fraud about, before, at, or after an election, should be held guilty, and punished with the pains and penalties of high treason.

If there is wrong, inexcusable, fatal wrong, let resistance and

revolution be open, with names and published vindications ; but nothing should be done by intrigue, fraud, or violence.

Venality is so strongly infused into the springs and sources of faction, that it becomes a part of its nature and essence, and as unavoidable as physical contagion. The most resolute preservation of health is as soon defeated by infectious proximity as the honest resolutions of the politician are frustrated by depraved associations. He cannot be honest, if he would ; the force of example, plausible schemes and opinions, soon overcome conscientious scruples. Instances of infatuation and moral dereliction so frequently occur with persons engaged in politics, as to shake all confidence in their integrity.

Mr. Polk's letter, and his subsequent conduct about the tariff; Governor Johnston's stump assurances and executive tergiversation about the odious relief bills of Pennsylvania; and General Taylor's repeated, voluntary, and gratuitously written pledges for non-official deposition, except for good cause, and his subsequent disregard of this promise, are startling proofs of the degenerate and daring derelictions of all politicians. They were, no doubt, in earnest when they gave these assurances, and they were elected upon the supposed sincerity of their intentions ; but subsequent considerations of conventional and secret policy seduced them from the path of faith, and the world is left to mourn an unexplained departure from truth by men supposed to be models of honor and rank.

These, and similar instances, go far to destroy all confidence in the integrity of politicians.

The whole system of political intrigue is repulsive and revolting. Few gentlemen of refined and elevated sensibilities can brook the rude insolence to which public and political adventures constantly expose them.

Party men and leaders are bitter, cruel, and brutal ; they carry firearms, and openly proclaim their readiness for challenges and duels ; from this fashionable brutality there is no escape from murder or the brand of cowardice.

No man ever left a wrangle unharmed ; if wrong, the public sympathies, which are always blind, may fall upon him ; if right, their unsparing prejudices may crush him to the earth. It is not, therefore, marvelous that men of dignity and independence of character should shrink from the feverish excitements and disgusting contact of public occupation.

If elevated and distinguished minds are referred to as ex-

amples, the lofty spirits of intellect and honor, in all ages, have been found more frequently in the genial shades of private life, or in the temples of science, than in the offensive arenas of political strife.

However necessary and laudable the general devotion to habits of industry, and the practical business of life may be; and though there are families and circles in which no grace, no charm, no accomplishment is wanting; yet it cannot be denied that the empire of dollars, cents, and material interests holds a very preponderating sway, and that art and all its train of humanities exercise at present but an enfeebled and restricted influence. If we ascend from social to political life, and from manners to institutions, we should find that the endless cycles of electioneering preparations and contests leave no intermission for repose in the public mind; enter into all the relations of existence; subordinate to themselves every other question of internal and foreign policy; lead their public men, not their best, but the average of them, to pander to the worst prejudices, the meanest tastes, the most malignant resentments of the people; at each change of administration incite the new rulers to carry the spirit of proscription into every department of the public service, from the minister at a great foreign court to the postmaster of some half-barbarous outpost—thus tending to render those, whose functions ought to withdraw them the most completely from party influences, the most unscrupulous partisans; and would make large masses welcome war, and even acquiesce in ruin, if it appeared that they could thus counteract the antagonist tactics, humiliate the rival leader, or remotely influence the election of the next President.

It is already painfully felt that, as far as the universal choice of the people was relied on to secure for the highest office of the State the most commanding ability or the most signal merit, it may be pronounced to have failed. The time of the House of Representatives, not without cost to the constituent body which pays for their services, is continuously taken up, when not engrossed by a speech of some days' duration, with wrangles upon points of order and angry recriminations; the language used in debate has occasionally sounded the lowest depths of coarse and virulent acrimony, as the floor of the legislative hall has actually been the scene of violent personal rencontre. The manners of the barely civilized west, where it has been known that counsel challenge judges on the bench, and members of

the legislature fire off rifles at the speaker as he sits in the chair, would appear to be gradually invading the very inner shrine of the Constitution.

It cannot be concealed that the reckless notions and habits of the vagrant pioneers of the west—evinced as these are by the practices of gambling, drinking, and licentiousness, by an habitual disregard of the Sabbath, and constant swearing—fearfully disfigure that great Valley of the Mississippi, destined, inevitably, at no distant day, to be the preponderating section of the entire Union. It is, at this day, impossible to go into any society, especially of the older and more thoughtful men, some of whom may themselves have borne an eminent part in the earlier struggles and service of the commonwealth, without hearing the degeneracy of modern times, and the downward tendency of all things, despondingly insisted upon.

“One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection.

“There is constant danger of the excess of party spirit. The effort ought to be by the force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.”—WASHINGTON’S *Farewell Address*.

“America seems really to be cursed with some selfish, mean politicians, who, through gross ignorance and entire recklessness of moral principles, add only views of the most narrow and sordid character, and are incapable of understanding upon any large and comprehensive principle of right and justice, and of regarding, with a single eye, the great interests of humanity.”—COLMAN’S *Letters*, vol. i. p. 183.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### REQUISITES FOR OFFICE.

None fit for certain offices under fifty years of age—Should hold office for four years only, except clerks, &c.—Qualifications—Causes of incompetency for offices—Huckstering politicians—Thomas Jefferson's letter—Veto power.

ALL elections by electoral colleges and legislative bodies, and all appointments by presidents, governors, collectors, &c., except military and naval officers, ambassadors, consuls, clerks, servants, and laborers, and to fill vacancies till the next election, should be forever abolished.

All officers, except those last named, should be elected by a general ticket, and by the direct vote of a plurality of the ballots cast by all the white male, free, native, lawful voters within the township, city, county, State, &c., for which the office is intended, including the executive, legislature, and judiciary of the general, State, and territorial governments.

This would not inequitably interfere with a general representation in the choice of national officers, by their election by the people of the district for which they are intended.

The district judges, collectors, and port-master would be selected by a portion, instead of the whole people of the United States, as is now the theory.

There is, however, more show than substance in this; and the apparent inconsistency would be entirely reconciled by its reciprocal character and results; for, while the citizens of Boston, or Massachusetts, being but an integral part of the whole people, elect a judge, collector, or port-master, this supposed incongruity would be counterbalanced by the exercise of like power by the citizens of every other district; the services of these agents would be executed for the special accommodation of those by whom they were elected.

Their selection or nomination would be from amongst, and by those whom they immediately serve, and their commissions would come from the whole people.

The President, and Vice-President, and secretaries of the departments of the United States, and the governors and executive officers of the States, the senators and representatives in Congress, and all judicial and legislative officers, should be native born, fifty years old, hold their offices but four years, and be afterwards ineligible for the same office.

The chief executive officers of every government should be of similar birth and age, and derive their appointment from the same plurality of suffrage, and hold it for the same term, and with like ineligibility, and serve out their term of office together, so as to secure their harmony and usefulness.

Where a district has more than one judge, or legislator, the half, or the one-third of them, according to their number, should succeed each other every two years.

Politics and office are used as business and trade. Persons in power seldom act on the merits of a case; the truth and right but seldom govern; private influences prevail; a friend to reward, an enemy to punish, if not a corrupt inducement to incite, is ever in the way of impartial and independent action with incumbents superficially qualified, with loose morals, carelessly selected, and holding place to secure its continuance, or as a stepstone for another post. There is now none of the ancient dignity of government.

The solemnities of authority are treated with derision, and there is an entire relaxation in the discipline and decorums of society.

One reason for this perhaps is that children are not thoroughly educated and prepared for their trades and callings, and are not made workmen and masters, with well grounded and resolute habits of industry and morality.

They pass their minority in idleness, and are suffered to go into the world but half fitted for its responsibilities.

Hence the swarms of lazy and presumptuous adventurers who precipitate themselves, unqualified, into the professions; the bankrupts from every half-tried pursuit at public meetings seeking office; the presidents, secretaries, and directors of banks, insurance offices, brokers and stock-jobbers, who have failed in business, because they have not had stability to prepare themselves for, and patient resolution to follow up, the pursuit or trade with which they began life.

No man should be employed by the people who has shown himself unfit to manage his own affairs; a lawyer, a doctor, or

any one whose learning, industry, and brains are inadequate to command a respectable and honorable patronage, is unfit to be a judge, or to hold any office.

A storekeeper, a mechanic, or any other man, who has not had industry, skill, and prudence to succeed in his own business has not enough to be a corporation director, an officer in the custom house, a member of the legislature, or to hold any other office; and yet the most important offices are too often given to such men.

If a man will not behave himself so as to command the confidence and patronage of his fellow-citizens, and thereby be enabled to make a respectable living in his private trade or pursuit, he is unfit to undertake the business of the public. There is no instance in which such men have not made bad officers. They do nothing themselves, throw it upon lads for clerks; no system or order is preserved, and everything is neglected.

The same rules which require suitable preparation for a trade or profession apply with greater reason and force to an appropriate education for public duty. Mere party faith, importunity, and personal popularity should have no weight in selections for office; the first and fundamental inquiry should be as to his integrity and his entire fitness for all the duties and details of the office.

Nothing can more effectually bring the man, and his office, and the law, into contempt, than an ignorant, incompetent, or dishonest incumbent.

Lazy and ignorant mechanics push themselves into the offices of justices of the peace, county officers, judicial, legislative, and other stations, without any suitable qualification.

What would be thought of an alderman who committed a defendant to prison for contempt, because he offered to enter an appeal from his judgment?—or of one who avowed that he always heard the parties patiently through, and then entered judgment according to law; that is, according to his rule of law, which was the form of a judgment entry for plaintiff, given him by his attorney when he took his commission, and in which there was no blank to fill up but the amount, in which he said he could not err, for he always made the plaintiff name the sum, and thus he was clear of all responsibility, leaving the parties to their remedy by an appeal?

Or what opinion of the intelligence of the magistracy would

come from a trial, sentence, and commitment, by a justice, of a thief to the state prison for two years?

And yet all these blunders have been made by three several magistrates, all of whom were honest, amiable, and respectable.

One was a shoemaker, another was a baker, and the last was a tailor; and each held respectable rank in his trade, but was wholly ignorant of the duties of his office.

They appeared to be very much mortified when told that they had done wrong; but they showed the law, as they called it, for their judgments; and the explanation could not be beaten into their heads.

Such men might do for constables or watchmen.

Uneducated, and very young men, mere politicians, intrigue themselves on to the bench, where they blunder, flounder, and expose themselves, to the grievous annoyance and reproach of the country.

Legislatures are annually filled with ignorant and verdant blockheads, who bring scandal on the State, and retard its prosperity.

The pugnacious resolution and impudent pertinacity with which these miserable drones urge themselves into office are incredible.

They visit rum-holes, and sit on fire-plugs, smoke, and drink, and drive about with the lowest dregs, get up crusades, petty combinations, and false reports about competitors, sneer at those who are fit, call them proud and aristocratic, deal out all sorts of promises for rewards, and thus, by dint of shameless tricks and intrigues, get themselves a party nomination by delegates chosen at places, and amidst violence and crowds, where decent men cannot go, and where, if they do go, they are hustled away, or cheated out of their delegation.

Stage-drivers, grog-sellers, low, lazy mechanics, jockeys, and blacklegs, boldly canvass for and get offices, the duties of which they never pretend to know or execute.

An ignorant shoemaker, hatter, carpenter, mason, and cigar-maker, scarcely able to write their names, and wholly unfit, are fraudulently pushed into the offices of sheriff, register of wills, recorder of deeds, clerk of a court, member of the legislature, and even into Congress.

The uneducated sons of a shoemaker, a tailor, butcher, and a drayman, with their trades half learned, join debating and Thespian clubs, spout, and rave about at minor theatres, poli-

tical meetings—work, that is, half work at their trades, while they go through a fraudulent preliminary study of law with, and obtain a certificate from, some hired pettifogger; are put back for ignorance; then beg, and urge, and implore, and whine, and blubber about, till from pity they are licensed; lick the feet, and do the dirty jobs for faction-men; and get on to the bench, where they form collusions, and turn all their power and influence to axe-grinding, read the news, whistle, sing, buy lottery-policies, and hold sidebar cabals, during the trial of cases, which they never listen to, understand, or decide; put down, and persecute every intelligent man of firmness and honor in their way; keep about them a swarm of unprincipled, ignorant, and extortionate cubs, spies, pimps, and masters, to do their infamous bidding; grant tavern-licenses to the abandoned keepers of brothels, gambling, and dance-houses, huts, and dens on the wharves, and in holes and alleys, in open violation of law, and against the remonstrances of thousands of respectable people.

Thus, to secure gangs for ward-elections, to make forced returns of delegates, forced nominations, forced and fraudulent elections of misereants, and caitiffs, convert to their own use the funds and power of the county and State, have roads opened, and damages assessed by their own juries, graveyards, and front lots sold on speculation; and boldly and openly defy, oppress, and plunder the community.

These are a few of the literal disastrous and pernicious consequences which have come from putting into office men without education or morals; base-born, low-bred, ignorant, and impudent adventurers, and whose only object is to accommodate their private and sordid passions.

Public affairs should not be confided to ignorant men, of loose, idle, and extravagant habits, of questionable skill and doubtful judgment.

That office emoluments are so low as to prevent men of merit from taking them, is untrue. The competitors are crafty and importunate, the people are too careless and credulous, and thus too many ignorant and mere fourth-rate men in mind are selected.

Including the Judges of the Common Pleas, the custom-house, the post-office, and all the city and county offices in Philadelphia, there is not now, perhaps, a man of them all who ever made, or was fit to make, by his profession, or his in-

dividual occupation, one-tenth part of that which he gets by his office. Some of them are grossly ignorant, and one of them, recently, with a salary of \$2000, was detected in not being able to read or write, except to make the letters of his name; his duties were all performed by clerks.

Let them be respectively named and tested, and these statements will be found to be true, for the last twenty-five years at least.

Some of them are brawling, heartless intriguers, without education, experience, or character, and have held one office after another, for twenty years, without any suitable qualification for any of them.

This is general throughout the whole country, and the attacks which have been made upon the salaries and fees of office have been prompted more from disgust at the incompetency and degraded character of the officers than from any penurious feeling.

The people of the United States live better, and pay better wages to their employees, than any other people; and, if their public servants were temperate, just, and competent, their services would be ungrudgingly and liberally requited.

If the offices were given to none but those above fifty, the incumbents could afford to work cheaper, perhaps, than young men; the expenses of old men are not so heavy, and they are more likely to have their own means of subsistence; the conference of public confidence at that age would be held as a compliment, commanding the gratitude and best efforts of the recipient.

Ministerial and subordinate officers, under-clerks, deputy-sheriffs, constables, &c., for which maturity of judgment and sound experience are not essential, might be given to younger men; but it would be safer for all the important places to be filled from amongst those whose days have reached the test and the summit of human skill and integrity.

The notions that young men should be encouraged, and that one who has held office well should not be removed, or, if so, be promoted, are ignorant vulgarisms, and impudent excuses for public abuse, to advantage personal cupidity.

The community is composed chiefly of those who are utterly helpless; infants, minors, females, the weak in body and mind, the infirm from sickness and old age, the poor—or of the most base and abandoned, the lazy, peace-breakers, thieves,

rogues, and scoundrels, of every age and in every sphere in life, from the gutters to the gallows; from the altar to the tomb.

The proportion above the calamities of the former, and the abasements of the latter, are few; and the whole responsibilities of sustaining the organization of society rest on them.

This trust involves the occasion for the very best men with the best capacities. There should not be blended with this serious and solemn duty the slightest levity, cupidity; no selfishness, or lack of fitness or integrity; no accommodation; no prejudice of the general good; every private consideration should yield to the public weal; and before they enter upon the duties of office, even at this age, they should be rigidly examined by a board of older, retired, and competent judges of their qualifications.

No other objects but these should be consulted; the highest and most sacred motives should govern the whole scope of this eminent and awful responsibility; and the slightest departure from its pious execution, however innocent or plausible, should be universally condemned as unmanly and profane.

There are spheres for the indulgence of all the lawful aspirations for gain, preferment, and distinction, upon the fields of industry, science, and the arts, without the brutal perpetration of our worst passions upon the holy vestments and consecrated altar of the people.

As a safeguard for these abuses, no one should be judged fit for public service who has not outlived the influence of early excitements.

There is no criterion of the human character so safe and certain as the touchstone of time; it is an ordeal by which the truth and the strength of merit can be more safely tested than by any other criterion.

Hypocrisy is too shallow and superficial to last for fifty years; and in that period the distinction between the affectations of knowledge, genius, and industry, and the actual possession of these virtues, will be discovered. A man of intelligence who has reached the age of fifty years, with habits of industry and integrity, and without a spot upon his character, will not then find it worth while to betray his country.

Until the qualifications have been thus exposed, there is no safety in their certainty and stability; after this scrutiny, the

opportunity is given to the public to use as much caution in the choice of their agents as can be desired.

At that age and under these restrictions, there would seem to be no sinister motive left; an instance perhaps might be challenged of a delinquency in fitness or faith by any respectable functionary whose selection has been governed by these safe and careful precautions.

The human temper with the young is naturally irritable and impetuous; the impulses sudden and blind; hope is ardent, and fear is quick, the judgment is weak; the lack of experience, the keen stimulations of pride, the provoking rivalry of contemporaries, the strife and competition for gain and preferment—all these generate overruling excitements and temptations, which nothing can allay or mellow down but the clear-sighted faculties and cool blood of old age.

Thus tested and found true, they reflect back on the world the bright image of their Almighty Maker.

Enough of these precious jewels can be found in every community, with four ripe years for their children and their country; and wisdom bids us confide the administration of our laws with their purity and patriotism.

#### TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

I received in due season the address of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, under cover from the Speakers of the two Houses, in which, with their approbation of the general course of my administration, they were so good as to express their desire that I would consent to be proposed again to the public voice, on the expiration of my present term of office. Entertaining, as I do, for the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, those sentiments of high respect which would have prompted an immediate answer, I was certain, nevertheless, they would approve a delay which had for its object to avoid a premature agitation of the public mind on a subject so interesting as the election of a chief magistrate.

That I should lay down my charge at a proper period, is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. *If some termination to the services of our chief magistrate be not fixed upon by the Constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years, will, in fact, become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance.* Believing that a representative government, responsible at short periods of elections,

is that which produces the greatest scene of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office.

Truth also requires me to add that I am sensible of that decline which advancing years bring on; and feeling their physical, I ought not to doubt their mental effect; happy if I am the first to perceive and to obey this admonition of nature, and to solicit a retreat from cares too great for the wearied faculties of age.

For the approbation which the General Assembly of Pennsylvania has been pleased to express of the principles and measures pursued, in the management of their affairs, I am sincerely thankful: And should I be so fortunate as to carry into retirement the equal approbation and good will of my fellow-citizens generally, it will be the comfort of my future days, and will close a service of forty years with the only reward it ever wished.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Dec. 10th, 1807.

Did the self-sufficient vanity of any man under forty or fifty years of age ever make the concessions of patriotism, and develop the unaffected good sense, which are contained in this letter?

The veto power, lodged with executives, is discussed in Chapter XIX., upon Governments, to meet occasions of unfitness and corruption with officers.

The people should make a law, giving themselves the power to veto any officer out of office, and elect another in his place at any annual election, before the commencement of the last year of his term, if the term be far more than one year. The people have the same right to put a man out as to put him into office. They will not be apt to dismiss an incumbent without cause; they will be more likely to overlook his faults than to resent them; and to be deceived by his concealment of them after he is elected, as they are too apt to be before he is appointed. This has always and everywhere been their cause.

There is a prevalent notion that the dignity of government and the character of the people require that officers and men

in power should be treated with great personal reverence, and that their motives and official acts are presumed to be just. This last proposition is an abstract rule of law required to preserve the validity of contracts and to secure the integrity of titles, but mistake or fraud will nullify any executive legislative or judicial act.

But the ridiculous and humiliating servility usually made to them springs from a sinister or cowardly propensity to crouch before men in place and power.

The men in office who have received the most cordial marks of personal respect and the largest concessions of confidence in all times have been distinguished for wisdom, purity, and unaffected simplicity of deportment.

It is the vain and the ignorant who presumptuously seek for, and demand from the public acknowledgments of official consequence.

Whenever officers are detected in official malversations, they become objects of public hatred ; all their official acts are distrusted ; reproach is brought upon them, and government and the people should hold the power to dismiss them.

Impeachment for incompetency, neglect, corruption, or for any cause, is a farce. The culprits employ their accustomed intrigues, and, with the aid of their depraved and abandoned confederates, baffle and defy impeachment.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### PUBLIC OPINION, CHARACTER, DUELING, AND SELF-DEFENCE.

Public opinion and character controlled by the bad—Their power hidden—Selfish—Attack slavery—Amalgamation—Not sincere—Extort money by pretensions of charity, &c., instead of helping the weak, the idiots, &c.—Politicians—Officers—Pettifoggers—Quacks—Judges—Distinctions here and in Europe defined—Judges and classes—Cases of ignorance, &c.—Arts, sophistry, and force of public opinion—Character by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania—No escape from public opinion—Its fatal effects—Cases—Comparisons of mind and morals—Caution—Counter-plotting—Washington and a spy—&c.

OCCASIONS of great mental anguish come from causes so hidden and secondary in their character as wholly to escape the observation of all except the intelligent and experienced.

A desire to have the good opinion of others prevails with every one, either from a generous feeling towards others, or from a selfish wish for their association.

When those who have feelings of mutual benevolence concur, their happiness is invaluable. Unfortunately for them, this generous spirit is not general.

They soon discover that but few have kind sympathies, and that the world is wholly selfish and sordid.

The predominating propensities of bad men are envy, selfishness, and treachery. They capriciously dictate, and arbitrarily control "*public opinion*." They hold secret dominion over the timid and retired, who are afraid to resent them, or vindicate themselves.

An analysis of these complicated subjects will not be attempted. Their general features will be grouped, and an effort will be made to mark out and expose their secret operations upon the heart.

The pain we suffer under the delusions referred to is excruciating and sometimes fatal. It constitutes a large portion of the mental and secret sources of all human misery.

A good character for ourselves and for our friends is of such

infinite value to them and us, that it frequently excites the jealousy even of those who hold a neutral position in society, if it conflicts with their interest or pride, and always provokes the envy of the wicked and the hatred of our enemies.

Those wholly indifferent to us are generally too much occupied with themselves to feel any solicitude for our welfare; on the contrary, they want our room, and if they notice us at all, it is with distrust and not with sympathy. So that this individual supervision is much more of a delusion than is supposed. Instead of our having occasion to court its favors, policy and discretion bid us keep out of its way.

But there is another portion of the world, the people, the public, who assume to themselves all the morals, religion, and respectability of society; and under these plausible pretensions of superiority they conspire to form corporations, profess patriotism, philanthropy, get up places of reformation, and monopolize the offices, dignities, honors, and wealth of the world. It is impossible to shun or avoid them.

Their selfishness and craft have no reserve; on the contrary, they mingle with, deceive, betray, and feed upon the world.

For example, they single out slavery, which has been solemnly settled in the United States for sixty years, as a pretext for sedition and revolt; because it ministers to the morbid appetites of the infatuated, ignorant mob, and enables them to delude, mislead, and plunder.

They denounce the Constitution a league with hell, because the States that made that compact were all slave States, and would not all agree that it should be abolished by a national law, when this effort was most zealously pressed and failed, because there was no right to demand or power to enforce it.

They proclaim the falsehood that the articles of the confederation, which were made by a plurality of votes, the voting being by States, could have had abolition forced into it; whereas, nothing could have been done without the consent of all the States, and nothing was done but by compromise; and if they had separated upon that point, the whole country would have been left open to anarchy and foreign subjugation.

Absurd as these doctrines are, because they excite and inflame the ignorant, this fanatical and insurrectionary faction in the North, where it is said and not denied there are no slaves, or fugitive slaves, has raised more money out of the infatuated rabble to pay abusive, itinerant defamers, and for the circula-

tion of incendiary pamphlets, than would have bought all the slaves in the United States. This fact has been stated by men of truth, and is not denied.

It amounts to several millions of dollars. A very small part of it has been applied to the purposes for which it was raised, but it has been withheld, and used by the artful leaders of this faction for their licentious indulgences.

They hit upon a popular and sympathetic subject, and thus artfully rob the people in the name of charity and benevolence.

The poor slave, the widow, the orphan, and the pagan, have millions raised for them which they never get, and which is used by these wolves in sheep's clothing.

Thousands are supported in affluence and prodigality all their lives upon these fraudulent extortions.

Have any of these noble and devout benefactors of the human race ever had their accounts audited, or have they ever made report of what they have done with the money they get?

So, too, the pretended encouragement and improvements given to commerce and domestic economy, by way of monopolies, banks, and insurance companies, are all of them scandalous and barefaced swindling contrivances to rob the people.

They have in the United States gleaned up, under simulations of serving the public, more than one hundred millions of its hard earnings.

These sordid and refined swindlers ever have, and ever will prevail while the masses are so stupid and cowardly as to suffer the arrogant self-love and audacious vanity of the popular rabble to delude and bewilder them by ostentatious simulations of benevolence.

It is by these means that they hold despotic sway over "*character*" and "*public opinion*," and control the popular feeling.

If they were sincere in their professions, why do they not get up these excitements and infatuations for some object of real and practical benevolence, which can be accomplished by the concurrence of good men, without conflict, agitation, or rebellion?

Why not resolutely maintain the universal example and dignified reward of temperance and order, and peremptorily punish drunkenness and swindling, and crush into the earth all rowdies and mobs?

Why not go into the alms-houses, and wretched hovels and garrets, and bring into the chambers of Christian charity and

love the victims of seduction, treachery, and desertion, and stop the awful scenes of frantic madness, infanticide, and suicide?

Why not lift up these dark curtains of man's drunken brutality, and bid the world to gaze with horror on his coward tyranny of innocent and helpless women and children?

Why not emancipate from oppression, and provide common animal necessaries for, the thirty thousand idiots and insane, scattered over the United States, chained to rocks in open fields and in dismal cellars, garrets, and dungeons; naked and starved, and beaten and maimed like wild beasts?

Why not employ their burning benevolence for an honest and intellectual course of appropriate education and discipline to the young, so that a stop shall be put to extortion and plunder to pay for sending children to school from five to twenty-one years of age, to be afterwards turned out upon the world, drones and rowdies, instead of being educated and disciplined with habits of temperance and honest industry?

These are broad and pious fields for mercy and benevolence, but they do not suit the sordid propensities of these selfish philanthropists.

They are not satisfied with efforts in which all good men may successfully unite; because, in these pursuits, no room is allowed them to oppose the law, disturb the public peace, control character, and plunder the community.

This is one portion of the pernicious rabble that so fatally harass the world. And this substantive "*rabble*" is intended to nominate all those who are in any way not honestly minding their own business.

Again, there is no end to the individual and conventional domineering of the upstart, purse-proud corporation, and political aristocracy of the United States, in their efforts to delude the retired portions of society, and establish a standard for public opinion and character.

They run in upon and interrupt, and vex the feelings and embarrass the pursuits of, all honest and industrious men, and extort from them, by taxes, frauds, and swindling, millions of their hard earnings.

More than one-half of the trading and money transactions of this country is carried on by plausible knaves and gamblers.

There is no end to the ignorant and presumptuous quacks and pettifoggers in all the professions, nor to the stupidity, corruption, and treachery of politicians, judges, and men in office.

There is more money wasted and embezzled by corporation monopolies, more neglect of duty, gambling in patronage and contracts, and more overbearing insolence, insult, and persecution of the retired, moral, and industrious, by those in place and position in the United States, than in any of the despotic nations of Europe.

In those countries, distinctions and orders are sanctioned by immemorial usage, and the higher orders generally hold acknowledged attributes of parental patronage towards others. Here they are forbidden by universal compact, but are fraudulently assumed and abused by those in place and power. There the people consent to, and cherish and flatter their aristocracy, who are expected to extend to them unaffected and generous condescensions.

Here the people utterly disapprove of all distinctions but industry and virtue; and for this they are sneered at, despised, and persecuted by the mushroom earls and noblemen of the republic.

But there are no abuses from these sources that inflict upon the people so many direet and insufferable burdens as the courts of law. They have direet power over public opinion and character.

Of all officers, judges should be most pure, patient, and learned, whereas they are ambitious, vapid demagogues, or vulgar, lazy, ignorant, grog-shop pettifoggers; and few are gentlemen of learning and honor.

Those of the first class use their offices as stepping-stones to higher posts, and eagerly seize upon every opportunity for display and popularity.

A case of this description recently occurred, in which two of them had a fugitive slave before them, on a demand for restitution.

The claimant proved the identity, and that the negro was three or four years before then the slave of a man now dead. A certified copy of his will was offered to show that he had devised the slave to his son, which evidence it was proposed to follow up by proof of the sale of the slave by the son to the defendant.

The copy of the will was objected to on the ground of the obscurity of the seal of the certifying officer.

This objection was sustained, and the negro was discharged.

This seemed to be an end to the matter, and no one but a puffed up blockhead would have presumed to say another word.

But these judges were not so simple as to lose an opportunity to make capital for political effect before an immense and excited crowd.

Inflated with pride and lust for higher office, they delivered a loud and elaborate harangue, which went the round of all the papers, in which, with great pomp, and zealous professions of patriotism, they gave a lame history of the constitutional and statutory slave-law; proclaimed their determination fearlessly to maintain the Union and all its compromises, even if they had to send to the President of the United States for two thousand armed men to maintain the peace and enforce the law; and poured out a long and empty gasconade of trash and brag, without saying one word about the point on which the claim failed. So that all the amazed and wondering world, after reading this fierce and agitating tirade about what they threatened to do, that they had no power to do, were compelled to look after the "*local items*" of a previous day to find out what this cotton thunder was about; and no newspaper had independence enough to note down that these crafty weathervane rocks were drawing whales and weasels on the political horizon.

Such judges try to hide their vapid egotism behind pretended display of sagacity, and presumptuous exhibitions of authority and power.

Too many of them come to their seats late, restless and excited; read the newspapers; walk up and down; look out at the windows; hold private talk with chums and favorites; do not listen to or understand the cases on trial; hastily decide, or impatiently pass them over for years, by which thousands of dollars are locked up, sometimes until the parties are dead; and insult, slander, and persecute those who complain of this denial of justice, rudely adjourn, and quit the court house for the streets, and babbling intrigue.

They do not read or study, or regard precedents or authority, and treat the legal principles in every case with careless haste, or as if wholly new, and as if, for the first time in the world, they were called on to decide them.

They are governed by no settled or uniform rules as to evidence, contracts, titles, or personal security, and use their power to accommodate themselves and their associates, and to oppress and persecute those they hate.

Every case is heard and passed upon as if it was before a town meeting.

A drunken ignoramus has as good a chance for success before them as the best educated and most industrious lawyer, for he suits them better.

What would be thought of a judge who should decide that a trustee is not bound to answer under oath, upon the general rule that a man cannot be compelled to testify against himself, when every lawyer should know that a trustee is the representative of his principal, and therefore does not act for himself, and also that the legislature of that judge's State had passed a law requiring trustees thus to answer?

Or of a judge who should decide that he was bound to execute a statute in force when he was sworn into office, though it had been afterwards repealed, and that he was not required to enforce a statute passed after he was sworn, because it was not embraced by the terms of his oath, and that this was the law in all the European governments, where, upon the death of a king and the accession of his successor, the newspapers showed that every one was sworn over again, for rebellion would not be treason without perjury, and there could be no perjury without an oath, and that this was one of the many errors of our new system, which the good sense and judgment of the courts were constantly called on to guard against?

Ignorant and absurd decisions of this character are constantly made with the most presumptuous arrogance, and the advocates who resist them are denounced, and their arguments treated with contempt and scorn.

These are but a few of the individual and conventional plots to pervert "*public opinion*" to sordid purposes.

In their aggregate capacities as governments, this rabble employ the same insidious frauds to hold sway over the public, and perpetrate the most ignorant inconsistencies.

They oppress the people by levying millions of taxes in profligate experiments for the universal and indiscriminate education of *all* persons between the ages of five and twenty-one years, and for giving them all, black and white, a collegiate education, with a diploma, instead of paying for them by loans, to be paid hereafter by the beneficiaries themselves.

Thus far this experiment has been attended with pernicious results.

There has been no improvement in morals and knowledge,

and still this visionary scheme is annually enlarged and extended, and madly pursued, and persevered in.

They invert the order of public policy, contract millions of debts and saddle them upon posterity, to pay for railroads which are used up and worn out in less than one age, and tax millions of money on the present generation to pay for useless education, instead of paying for their railroads in cash and drawing bills on the next age for its education, so that *they* can see if it is worth the cost. This would give the experiment a fair trial.

For the year 1850 one hundred and eleven dollars and eighty cents was assessed in Philadelphia, for county purposes, on the dwelling and store of a boot and shoe maker, no larger than is necessary for his family and business.

The entire county assessment for that county this year is seven hundred and seventy-eight thousand three hundred and forty-eight dollars; of this \$778,348, \$358,000 is for the poor schools.

It follows, therefore, that the assessed individual referred to, out of the one hundred and eleven dollars and eighty cents, pays annually more than fifty dollars for schooling the poor, and that this assessment, by an average increase of the last twenty years, will exceed two hundred dollars in 1870 more than his house would have rented for in 1810, without his business being bettered, or an increase in value to his house, with its constant liability to be burned down by this educated rabble, and if it is insured, to be swindled out of his policy-money by their upgrown patrons.

If this honest mechanic happens to live, and work, and save, and buy two more such houses in twenty years, he will have to pay six hundred dollars for schooling the poor.

It is upon this class of men that these burdens exclusively fall; they are the only persons who have taxable property;—politicians and corporation knaves hold nothing that can be taxed.

This is another one of the plots by which rogues cheat honest men.

They call it equality, humbling the rich, and breaking down the aristocracy.

That is to say, the rabble has a right to extort from each laboring man from fifty to six hundred dollars a year, to school fifty thousand paupers every year in one county, all of whom

ought to be at work, and one hundred and fifty of whom are graduated in a college, which they are afraid to call by its true name, and, to hoodwink their fraud, call it a High School.

Why limit this collegiate bounty to one hundred and fifty, out of fifty thousand? and why exclude the negroes altogether from it?

Equality, founded upon, and ratified by their poor-laws, demands that *all* and *every* person from five to twenty-one years of age shall have this boon.

The despot who exacts tribute at the point of the bayonet is a refined benefactor compared to these hypocrites.

He holds power and demands its support; they repudiate force and fraud, whine about charity and benevolence, and in the name of equality, tax the people for the most gross and odious indulgences, subterfuges of oppression, and aristocracy.

If these abuses come from persons in the plain and private conditions of life, they would not be tolerated; but the force of adventitious circumstances, with persons in power and place, forces the unsophisticated and honest, who stay at home and mind their work, to submit to the despotism of these self-constituted arbitrators of "*character*" and public opinion.

The practice is to concede that the good they do should be magnified, that the wrong done by them should be overlooked, and that their disapprobation of or sneers at anything is sufficient to render it unpopular.

"Diseases of continuance get an adventitious strength by custom."—BACON.

The combination and prevalence of these pernicious tendencies embarrass the minds and multiply the mental calamities of all honest men.

They are examples of the abuses which have been successfully practiced by the malicious, selfish, ignorant, and vapid rabble ever since the first woman impudently deserted the ordained fellowship and protection of her husband, and privately promenaded through voluptuous shades and forbidden gardens, secretly intending to throw herself in the way of, and to be picked up by, the father of all cunning and deception, to indulge in a wanton intrigue, which GOD had warned her to avoid under penalty of death.

Here began envy, jealousy, slander, backbiting, and treachery, and a perpetual and promiscuous struggle for ascendancy, domination, and sway.

All efforts have, ever since then, been employed, by the arrogancy and fraud of the base and selfish, individually and collectively, to mar the prospects, blight the hopes, blast the characters, and crush the hearts of the pure and honest.

And, however conscious we may be of the contempt and scorn in which "*public opinion*," and "*what people say*," and "*what the world thinks*," should be held, yet there are few who are not frightened and dismayed by it.

Very few who have discernment and discrimination sufficient to detect its hollow and cruel deceptions, or moral courage enough to shake loose from, and resent and resist, its frigid terrors.

We involuntarily permit its baleful influencees to penetrate into and pervade the hidden recesses of the heart, and control, influence, govern, and torture, all its timid and seeret sensations.

Lady Flora Hastings, eldest daughter of Francis, Marquis of Hastings, was born in 1806. She was appointed lady of the bed-chamber to the Duchess of Kent, and while in this station, an enlargement of her liver excited rash suspicions of her virtue, to which the virgin heiress to the throne of England (afterwards Queen Victoria), keenly anxious for the character of her court, and misled by (her physician) Sir James Clarke's inexcusable misjudgment of the ease, unhappily listened.

The deeply injured and discarded lady, eminent for beauty, accomplishment, talent, and piety, suffered under this slander but for a brief season in the public estimation, and died, amidst universal expressions of sympathy and mournful esteem, at Buckingham Palace, of a broken heart, July 15th, 1839.

A post-mortem examination triumphantly refuted the cruel calumnies which shadowed the close of her pure and excellent life.

An insurance company, puffed up with its aggregate vanity and pride, was called upon to pay an admitted loss by fire of seven thousand dollars on its policy; the insured was totally burned out, and ruined, crushed, and bewildered.

The company told him he had fired his own store, and they could prove it; would keep his action in court for years; but would compromise for seven hundred dollars.

The charge was utterly false; but he was terrified with the

fear of public opinion, and the threat against his character, and cringed to the plunder.

These are rich and fragrant banquets for experienced and retired rogues to feast upon—from four to ten per cent. half-yearly dividends; own all the capital themselves, and revel on humbug and swindling.

Another set got a charter for an insurance company on the mutual principle plan; profits to be divided among the insured.

They employed plausible puffers to pump round through the city after the shopkeepers and mechanics, excite their fears of fire, show them how trifling the premium and cost of insurance was, read over to them the big names of the officers and managers of the company, leave a card with beautiful pictures on it of half-naked women and babies rushing from flames, and pompous statements of capital, security, and dividends; call again; show them a printed policy with large figures of \$500,000 capital, and charter perpetual on it, and with another blazing picture of a city in flames on it; coax them to sign an application for insurance, squeeze out the costs and premium, and then bring back to them the policy, signed and sealed with an enormous seal, with engines and other ridiculous catch-penny devices on it; and tell the stupid, gull-trapped dunce that now he is safe, and can sleep sound.

These plausible villainies are practiced by hundreds of these swindling institutions, at the head of which are names supposed by beginners, young persons, and strangers to be the pillars of the world.

One of these rotten conspiracies spread abroad their fraudulent perpetrations, until its dignified president and crafty secretary, with their gorgeous buildings paved with mosaic marble, decorated with costly statues, and paintings, and gilded furniture, beguiled the public into the belief that they had unbounded wealth and benevolence.

At length one of their infatuated victims had his shop burned out. He applied to the secretary for an amicable adjustment of his loss, according to the printed schedule attached to his policy; to which he received an insolent and haughty insinuation that he had set fire to his store to cheat the company.

Indignant at this base imputation, he brought an action on his policy, upon which a bill of discovery was filed, upon the oaths of this president and secretary, in which this charge was

repeated. The defendant traversed the perjury on oath, and, after much baffling, the case was tried, every inch of ground being contested by the hired pettifogger of the company. A bill of exceptions was taken, and a new trial demanded; and, after a delay of more than three years, a judgment was obtained. An execution was issued; the company denied ownership of its magnificent office, and of all other property.

The plaintiff now filed his bill of discovery, to which these pompous and fashionable patriarchs of benevolence, and proud arbitrators of public opinion, audaciously and respectively made oath, as follows:

The president said that he owned the office, and built it expressly for the munificence nominated in the act of incorporation. That the project was got up by the secretary and his personal friends. That, when the company obtained their charter, it was conditioned that he should permit his name to be used as the presiding officer; but that he had no knowledge of the transactions, except to write his name, when requested by the secretary, who had paid him the amount of interest agreed upon for the investment made in the erection of the building.

The secretary answered by attaching a copy of the act incorporating the company, which, he said, would show that the company had been established upon the "*mutual principle*." That of course it had no capital stock. That he had borrowed the names of the president and the board of managers, who had never met. That he had also loaned a substitute, when a member of the board died. That he had prosecuted for more than nineteen years a popular and prosperous business, and had received unexpected and surprising patronage, and incredibly large sums of money in premiums and charges, which had been faithfully disbursed in office-rent, lawyers' fees, excursions, presents, and hot suppers for his patrons; and that, measuring his own services, which he said were unremitting, and exclusively devoted to the benevolent objects of this beautiful experiment of reciprocal loss and gain, by its pecuniary productions, he had regulated his salary by this reasonable and just tariff of equitable remuneration, by appropriating the annual residue to that desirable and laudable object.

The eloquent secretary proceeded to make further answers, and said that he submitted with his answers a list of the names of the insured, a statement of the losses, and he humbly submitted that the *insured* were liable to the sufferers; that is,

they were liable to each other for the losses under the “*mutual principle*” recognized by the charter. That he had carefully set out in a statement, also attached the pro rata proportions of the ratio of each of the insured, and had sent them a demand for their respective mutual liabilities with his commissions, added that he was under no security, and that he had been advised by his three solicitors and his board of managers that, unless these delinquents paid up, their understanding was that the company would have to stop, as its popularity with the public would now perhaps be so much suspended as to diminish the revenue required for its “*mutual*” support.

Then ensued an eruption more terrible than all the conflagrations of the sufferers.

A town meeting, the universal remedy of all infatuated and ignorant, self-sufficient, hoodwinked blockheads, was convened.

Loud and boisterous harangues, and indignant fulminations of fraud and robbery, were expectorated upon these denounced and hoary-headed pompous dictators of fashion and public opinion.

A committee of thirteen (old '76) was appointed, with instructions to indict and chase the ruffians down to the penitentiary for life, and, if possible, to get the legislature to pass a law to have them all hanged.

The committee never met, and within two years these cunning thieves were scattered about in the catalogues of the names of the directors of new and similar institutions.

Is it wonderful that even these barefaced contrivances for public robbery, when organized and sanctioned by legislative authority, should fail to work out and spread abroad so much deception and fraud? and that their victims should involuntarily bend to the force, and yield to the fear of the “*public opinion*” which these pernicious elements of fraud and wickedness generate and control, when they hold by their fascinating influences, as it would seem, a stupid world in a voluntary trance?

A fashionable and pompous operator in fancies, who lounged at clubs, and lived in grandeur, carelessly, as it were, to patronize a poor beginner, who had a wife and a family of children, ordered home to his princely mansion a \$400 piano forte, *for cash*. After being dunned for three weeks, gave his post-dated check upon a bank where he had no account; then his note, which was protested; and, after a year, an order to the owner for his piano, which was refused. Flushed with

brandy, after a five o'clock dinner, he drove down the avenue in front of, and stalked into the piano man's shop, with his gay and dashing daughter, denounced him as an impudent scoundrel for insulting his daughter's refinements about a contemptible \$400 piano, and proclaimed that he would procure him to be denounced as odious, mean, and vulgar, and his pianos to be badly made and false-tuned.

Under the presumptuous pretext of fashionable dignity, the ruffian prevailed, but in reality it was the open audacity of the highwayman.

The piano-maker was frightened at the menace against his "*character*" as an honest dealer, which he considered worth more than \$400, and handed over the check, note, and order, to this fashionable robber.

Oh man! thou slave to "*the opinion of the world*," and to "*what people say*," rebuke, if you will, this honest artist, beset in a wilderness by savages! But thousands of you, thus hedged in by villainy, will crouch as he did.

Few have nerves strong enough to stand the brunt of "*public opinion*," even though they know and see that it is established by rogues and knaves.

These are a few of the instances in which the fear of defamation, and the dread of public opinion, have crushed its innocent and suffering victim.

The skill of the educated and depraved rabble, who arbitrarily establish "*public opinion*," is not more successful in its brutal sway than it is dextrous in contriving plausible excuses for its perpetrations.

It is wholly indifferent to them what the degrading and infamous character of the coveted indulgence is; they will be as successful in establishing its popularity as they are triumphant in its consummation.

By their consummate faculties of dissimulation, they will soon enlist the sympathies of the masses, the weak and the wicked, for the public and fashionable sanction for unblushing drunkenness, gluttony, idleness, cheating, embezzling, stealing, forgery, perjury; gambling in stocks, monopolies, corporations, at elections, clubs, horse-races, gaming tables; suborning and corrupting witnesses, jurors, judges, legislators, executives; and in arson, mobbing, and assassination.

When a poor man, out of the pale of this fashionable sphere, attempts a participation in these luxuries, he is crushed without

reinorse. It is difficult which most to abhor—the infamous profanities of making and establishing “public opinion,” or the brutal perpetrations it sanctions.

The following is a specimen of their artful depravities. It recites some of their excuses for fashionable murder by dueling.

They say that, when men are smarting under severe wrongs, they become impatient and restive. That they will not be forced into the courts and submit to the tedious, and, as they think, the inadequate redress there given. That their passions cannot be curbed, and that the rigid rules of the law must be by all good men relaxed for them, or anarchy must follow. They hold that common justice demands that a compromise should be made for cases fraught with trying provocations.

They ask what, then, is to be the remedy, if men shall be tolerated in redressing themselves by *revenge*, by mobbing, and assassination? or by the slow and fatal retribution suggested and stimulated by the dark impulses of *vengeance*? They admit that both are terrible and fraught with horror; that they are reciting wrongs which are held to be, and really appear to be, without a legal remedy; and, therefore, as it is so, that, in all cases where the law is not relied on and will not be resorted to, and men will have personal redress, it is best that it should be had upon equal and fair terms.

They contend that in this dilemma, dueling is obviously to be preferred to secret and brutal violence. That both parties, upon a challenge to fight a duel, have opportunities for mutual explanations. That the occasion is exciting, and it may cool ardor, and throw them both back upon their consciences or their cowardice. That the exigencies of this perplexing crisis may check their impulses. That they may privately explain, recede, or apologize, without exposure or humiliation; and, if the party called out flunks by refusing to explain, apologize, or fight, that there the matter will end.

They say that, if no intervention occurs to the meeting, the parties are then placed under the direction and control of their friends. That there should be, at least, two on each side. That they should be cautious and discreet men. That no man of true honor should refuse this office. That it is impossible to conceive how much evil he may avert, and how much good he may do.

That the parties are now required and bound to disclose

everything, even their secret motives, to their friends, and to remain silent. That everything is surrendered to the seconds. That the ordeal is solemn and searching. That the judges must listen and deliberate with caution, and determine with impartiality.

That ignorance of facts, mistakes, heat, haste, provocations, everything, must be carefully considered by them. That explanations, retractions, and apologies may be awarded, and that their decision must be implicitly submitted to by the parties.

That if one of the parties revolts he may be denounced; and that, if no adjustment can be made and a conflict is unavoidable, the parties are to be put upon an equal footing as to time, position, and weapons.

That they must fight openly, in the presence and under the direction of their friends.

That the first fire is but seldom fatal. That then comes a withering, crushing pause.

The blood is chilled. The keen edge of resentment is wired. Perhaps the love of life and the pangs of conscience may come to both.

That these results are apt to occur with the calm and deliberate preparations for conflict; when the articles are read and signed, the parties meet, the distance is measured, and the weapons compared, prepared, and handed over.

That these are stirring counter-excitements for the courage and conscience, and unmistakable tests of the true essence of real pride, honor, "*character*," self-esteem, vanity, and "*public opinion*."

And that there are few instances in which this experiment upon the love of life and fear of death, from the challenge down to the first onset, does not so overcome the inherent, involuntary, nervous cowardice of human nature, as to provoke a pretext, however inconsistent with the vaunting arrogance and pride of the parties, for a mutual reconciliation.

That, if the catastrophe is inevitable or fatal, the transaction has, at least, the show of having been unavoidable, the merit of fairness, order, and rule, and of imperious necessity.

That, however revolting and fatal dueling may be, it spares the public eye, and supersedes secret revenge, mistakes, lynching, fire, murder, riots, mobs, insurrection, open tumult, and breaches of the public peace.

That, if there is any better substitute for redress for personal wrongs, between mobs and lynching, and the law, let it be nominated.

They also say that open war between nations has been ever sanctioned by law and religion, and allege that there is no distinction in principle between nations and individuals in this respect.

They say, too, that dueling has a marvelous tendency to level down the proud and haughty arrogance of man.

That it is truly democratic and civilizing to big men; that it puts the strong and the weak, the lofty and the humble, upon an equal footing; and deprives the bold and audacious of the power to oppress and trample upon the meek and timid.

This is the absurd theory of the advocates for dueling, who are amongst the most respectable and distinguished members of society, and who everywhere covertly submit to, and thereby sanction, this erroneous and plausible, but pernicious code of false honor.

Its leading features are recited here to show how the artful maxims of wickedness can invent arguments and contrive schemes to delude the humble, to baffle virtue, and to substitute for morality and virtue the artificial and profane substitute of public opinion and fashion for every violation of law and religion.

The plain and direct answer to all these equivocations and evasions, and open violations of law is that nothing dishonest can be justified, and that no personal wrong will excuse dueling; that no injustice or wrong can prosper; and that, where human redress fails, it must all be left to Him whose wisdom and justice are unchanging and inscrutable.

It is difficult which most to abhor: the infamous perpetrations of the rabble, or the audacity with which they despotically establish public opinion.

Man's sensibility as to his reputation is as acute as woman's; he is more exposed than she is.

Hence suicides to escape from the horrors of "*public opinion*;" and duels and assassinations in vindication of supposed or real wrongs.

The causes of these fatal excitements are always overrated, and sometimes wholly imaginary, with those who deprecate them.

One cause of this proceeds, sometimes, perhaps, from the importance we give to ourselves, and the delusion under which

we labor as to the supposed nature and character of our existence; we feel and act as if we were to live here forever, and vainly *magnify* the extent and importance of "*character*"; whereas it is seen that our "*character*" is of neutral or secondary consideration with one portion of the public, so long as we do not interfere with or trouble it; and that, as to the other portion, the dissolute and depraved part of the world, we are wholly in error if we expect that they will estimate our characters by a just standard.

They underrate character just in proportion as it is good, because in that ratio it blunts their secret pride and vanity.

So that this enormous bug-bear called "*public opinion*" and "*character*," that all the world fears and dreads so much, is an open transparent villainy, to be despised and abhorred; but still it possesses the secret, mysterious, and demoniac power to benumb the judgment, to strike the soul with horrid spells, and scourge its earthly pilgrimage with fiendish pangs.

While we deprecate these calamities on our own account, we should be careful to remember that we too take part in passing judgment upon "*character*"; and, as we value our own good name, so, for others, we are solemnly required to turn a deaf ear to all falsehood and prejudice.

One of the most learned, impartial, and discriminating men that this country has produced prosecuted for more than twenty years the pleas of the people in the largest city in America, and he distinctly declares that, although indictments committed to his charge were all on oath, he was at last compelled to place no confidence in their truth; and that such was the audacity of falsehood, and the infinite purity of innocence, he often saw its bright lustre even through the dark clouds of revenge.

The danger of a false conviction, even upon positive proof, when the defendant is helpless, and not of suspicious reputation, or in bad company, is terrible.

The numerous instances of the capital punishment of the innocent, upon positive, though sinister evidence, have drawn forth an able and interesting treatise upon the subject, by an experienced jurist, in which convictions and executions, upon presumptive evidence and perjury, are recorded with thrilling horrors.

As to facts militating against others, within our own personal knowledge, we should not interfere, but mind our own business,

unless they are erimes, or we are in some other way required to notice them, and then we should hold our judgment subordinate to the wholesome rules of impartiality set forth in the following recited decision.

Character is a relative attribute. It is difficult to fix for it any distinct or positive standard.

It is in this respect somewhat like modesty and manners, all of which are measured, dictated, and controlled, if not wholly governed, by fashion.

The dress, for example, of the ladies at the royal drawing-rooms in London, is more delinquent, it is said, in the exposure of the bust and the arms than could be allowed to an undress in a private parlor; and yet custom has for ages excused and sanctioned this apparent indelicacy with the pious and pure of both sexes.

Personal familiarities, and apparent carelessness of speech and deportment between the sexes, are tolerated in some countries, which would be held as coarse and vulgar in other countries.

All these traits of character, if not in violation of the established rules prescribed by the virtuous portions of society, where they are practiced, may be overlooked as harmless and excusable.

So, too, as to acts involving principles of morality. Man is imperfect, excitable, precipitate, thoughtless, impatient, impulsive, and sometimes most sorely beset by temptations, without being radically prone to evil, and is therefore not always to be condemned for the commission of one or two erimes.

The decision, then, proceeds as follows:—

“If, upon the whole, the general tenor of his life exhibits a conformity to the rules of morality, he should be held as a man of good character.

“It is the general import of his conduct, and not particular acts, by which he should be judged.

“It will not do to take up the deecalogue, and inquire whether a man is a liar, or is addicted to fornication, or adultery, or to profane swearing, or Sabbath-breaking, or if he covets his neighbor's goods, or his wife.

“If an indulgence in these propensities were to be the standard by which character is to be ascertained and determined, the standing of all men would be in peril.

“There are but few Catos, and perhaps the picture of his

character better conforms to what the mind may regard as a beautiful model of morality than is consistent with the relations of any man's conduct through life.

"This is not the standard which society has established for what is called good character; on the contrary, the law in this respect embraces, defends, and protects that middle class of men, all the world over, who have a sense of truth, honor, and virtue, and who are yet not above the infirmities of life, whose sensibility as to the value of character is sincere and conscientious, but whose liability to err makes them vulnerable to the thousand wagging tongues of this world, whose shafts of slander, sometimes in sport, and sometimes in malice, make free with some department or quality of character of good men in the main.

"If the law allowed these reports and this rule of decision to destroy character, few men would be safe.

"The truth is that it is only in general character that a man finds his true level in society, and that alone ought to mark his value.

"It is a man's character in gross, and all taken together, his faults and his virtues, if he has any, and few but who have some, that form his individuality as to character, and which ought to determine for how much it is worth.

"Even a man's relatives have some interest in his character; his parents, his wife, and his children are entitled to claim the advantage, and have preserved for them, whatever of soundness it retains.

"And the hopes which we are taught to cherish for the future lean upon our general character, taking us all in all for support."—(JUDGE COULTER, *per curiam*, in *Stineman vs. McWilliams*, 6 Penna. State Reports, 175, A. D. 1847.)

These are liberal and merciful views; the true interpretation and practical application of which is, there must be more good than bad, and not that the good and the bad qualities of men are equal.

So that, while the line is so generously drawn as to excuse a large amount of human imperfection and wicked indulgences, care should be taken not to encourage wolves in sheep's clothing.

And it may be laid down as an inexorable law, from whose judgments there should be no reprieve or pardon, that all those who are outside of this line, which is abundantly merciful for

sin and repentance, should be held and regarded as being under the specific and pervading dominion of incorrigible propensities and irreclaimable depravities, and at open war with all the elements of peace, order, morals, and religion, and as wild beasts and venomous reptiles, to be shunned, and perpetually shut up, or extirpated from the face of the earth.

This is an imperfect and transient glimpse at the panorama of man's deceptions, subtilty, hypocrisy, and fraud.

It has never been suitably and sufficiently exposed, and it is said that for all these wrongs there is no legal remedy; that is to say, that the law has furnished no action, or suit, or indictment, or other process, or proceeding by which they can be prevented, redressed, or punished; and so it is.

Every intelligent honest man, of patient judgment and self-control, must see, at every step of his life, that he is in a helpless minority, and that an attempt, by remonstrance, denunciation, or war, to put down rogues and knaves, will inevitably bring upon him insult, hatred, and persecution.

The world must be taken as it is; we cannot reform or revolutionize it. We are compelled to work our passage through it the best way we can.

There is nothing undergoes so many changes as man.

To the old, this is not so obvious as it is to the young, to whom everything is new, for the transition of things being gradual, and almost imperceptible, like the attritions of time upon matter, become familiar to the old.

But an intelligent and discriminating person at maturity will be so struck with the physical and moral changes between youth and age as to be almost baffled by the fact that they are in reality the same persons.

Hence it is that what is pleasant and delightful at one period of life is disagreeable and repugnant at another time of life.

This applies to all the appetites and mental appreciations.

If these eccentricities are found with individuals, how much greater must be the disaffinities with the whole congregation of ages, habits, and prejudices.

A calm and sober thought upon these complications admonishes us to infinite forbearance and precaution.

The relative proportions of those with and without intellect and morals will be variously estimated.

That is to say, what proportion of men are in mind above,

and what proportion are below mediocrity; what the proportion is below this class; and what proportion they all bear to those merely above mediocrity, and those with the highest order of intellect.

The same query lies as to the moral rank of the masses; what portion are open marauders; those with like propensities who from cowardice and cupidity simulate honesty; and what proportion these bear to those who from conscience are truly honest.

An analysis of this subject has not been publicly made by any author. It would probably be thought too bold by the eringing and cowardly. Besides, it is beyond the comprehension of the majority, too humiliating for self-pride, and too odious in its comparisons for the popular rabble.

Suppose it was announced, from undisputed authority, that the mental and moral propensities referred to furnished but ten out of every generation with exalted intellects, and that one moiety of the rest are but barely accountable moral agents; that one-half of the rest, that is one-fourth of the whole, are mentally inert, and are governed by their animal impulses alone; and that the balance have no gifts above brutes, except the gift of speech. And suppose the same tariff, being applied to the moral propensities, showed that each generation produced but ten men with moral power sufficient to control their passions, and one-half of the rest are under the dominion of their evil propensities, and are withheld from open violence by cupidity and cowardice alone; that one-half of the remainder are open ruffians; and that the residue are fools, idiots, sturdy paupers, and malefactors; what would the world think of this humiliating exposure? And bating the transient influences of moral and religious constraint, it would perhaps be difficult to refute the veracity of this analysis.

A few appropriate hints have been offered in these chapters upon this subject, and, however a full exposition of it may be held ungracious or illiberal, yet every prudent and independent man is not only authorized but required in self-defence most resolutely and thoroughly to understand it for himself.

No better preliminary rule in this pursuit can be employed, perhaps, than to hold towards every one that we do not know the outward formalities of personal respect.

This we are bound to do if we know nothing against them; and at the same time we may privately watch them as if they were rogues.

Instead of this being wrong, it is an act of sheer justice to them and ourselves too, if they be dishonest ; if they are not so, it does them no harm, and it gives us the advantage of detecting their secret motives, if they can be scrutinized ; and thus protects us against them if they are dishonest, or it secures us against this contingency by the discovery of their integrity ; which last is a mutual advantage.

To dismiss all distrust and caution, and to indulge in familiarity and confidence with strangers, is ignorant, humiliating, and dangerous.

Self-defence and self-protection demand that we should keep guard, and always be on the alert as to those we do not know, and as to those we do unfavorably know ; and self-respect also requires that this necessary precaution should be expressed with delicacy and circumspection.

To resent every affront, and to shun and avoid every one outside of the line of our own notions of propriety, will prevent and not facilitate our progress.

We are not required to rebuke wrong, or vindicate right ; this is the province of government and law. But we are required to guard against the possible deceptions of every one.

We have our own fortunes and safety to guard, and are not bound as individuals, by any injunction or penalty, to make ourselves obnoxious by opposition even to the worst men.

Character, position, moral rank, and private worth, we have seen, are relative qualities, and must be estimated by an average standard.

So that, in this view, we are not required to eschew and avoid persons we privately hold to be beneath us.

Because, according to the law, they have their right to public consideration, and, from motives of policy and self-interest, we should not slight or slur them, and thereby make them secret enemies.

We cannot know too much of the sinister propensities and practices of this sordid world.

Its deepest and darkest mysteries should be secretly and thoroughly penetrated.

Every one about us, with all their connections, pursuits, and private objects, and propensities, should, by patient and searching scrutiny, be fully understood.

We should abstain from gossip and scandal, and resolutely

maintain a profound silence, and affect an utter ignorance of what we do know about others.

But the devices employed by them on us may be lawfully retaliated on them in self-preservation.

If it be necessary for your interest or protection, do not hesitate to make in with the members and officers of their banks, monopolies, and all other cabals, factions, and conspiracies. They will be glad to profit by your countenance.

They eagerly seek the company of respectable and thrifty men. It gives them a double chance to use and cheat them at the same time.

They are vain and venal, a little flattery pleases, and a favor, or a dollar, tickles their venality.

In all their contracts, they pretend to be bashful, but are very ductile if alone, and for money may be used with unlicensed liberty.

Take, for example, a political demagogue, a monopoly, or corporation Shylock, the leaders of factions, or any grog-shop and gambling judge; smooth in with, and praise their motives, and slick up their vanity, flatter their pride, and accommodate their sordid appetites, and they will betray each other, and fetch and carry like Indians.

There is nothing wrong in this; it is defending yourself with the weapons of your adversaries, and preventing them from taking you by surprise.

It does not follow that you are to be depraved, or to make a bad use of these participations, no more than this is to be imputed to a doctor who has administered to an infamous disease, or a lawyer who has defended a murderer.

The simplicity and want of tact and forecast exhibited by the cases just recited, of Lady Hastings, of the persons swindled by insurance frauds, and the piano-maker, contrasted with the proposed precautions, show how inevitably they must circumvent tricks and fraud, if discreetly employed.

If these victims of public opinion had studied and realized the detestable and hollow hypocrisy of the world, the first would have lifted her soul, with proud and conscientious scorn, above the power of professional ignorance and public prejudice, and patiently awaited the sure and speedy crisis of her triumphant vindication; and the others would have at the outset evaded the toils of their adversaries; or, if unavoidably ensnared, they would have defied, indicted, exposed, and degraded the culprits,

even if they had bribed themselves loose by "*habeas corpus*," "*quashing the indictment*," "*jury cannot agree*," "*new trial*," or **PARDON**.

During an evening session of the Roman Senate, Cicero informed it of the names of the persons present, and of all that was said and done, at a secret and treasonable meeting, then being held at Catiline's house, by him and his co-conspirators. Spies can telegraph too.

Washington accepted an invitation to dine with a wealthy and distinguished Whig, at his splendid mansion near to the American camp.

While the joyful greetings upon his arrival were being tendered in the portico, the sharp eye of the host fell upon a troop of English dragoons, passing round a turn in the road, at full speed towards the house, and with great trepidation looked at his watch, and uttered an exclamation of surprise, and tremulously faltered the words, "*five minutes too soon*;" upon which Washington placed his hand gently upon his shoulder, and complacently replied, "*You* need not be alarmed, sir; it is *I*, and not *you*, they are after."

At that instant, the troop surrounded the house, Washington leaped to his saddle, and the American dragoons, in English disguise, dashed to the American camp with their prize.

Five minutes afterwards, the *British* troop came; but they fell into an ambuscade, with a general officer at their head, and were very soon arraigned with their detestable spy, before the marque of the continental commander.

There is no difficulty in obtaining all this information. The world is full of gossips, tattlers, and bores; persons who rejoice in gathering up, and scattering scandal, hearing themselves talk, and being listened to.

You need not pump them; a marvel or a wonder is all the encouragement they require; and even those of the sinister dupes, who are acute and wary, and secretly engaged in tricks and schemes upon their own account, are conscious of their moral inferiority, suspicious of detection, anxious to hold the favorable opinion, and obtain the views and knowledge, of respectable persons, and are, therefore, ever anxious to court their society and countenance. They are covertly after your secrets, to use you; so that, from the trembling fools always in your paths, and from the complacency of the very men you wish to pump and use, with the same caution and management by you, wherewith they

delude, beguile, and swindle the world, you may secretly detect and forestall their plots, turn their capital to your own account, foil their schemes, and retaliate upon their frauds, without their knowing how it was done. When the financial crash of 1839 and '40 occurred, the best of the monopolies by embezzlements and frauds were minus more than one-half their capital, and got their stock reduced to meet this disaster; and all the rest were totally insolvent.

After the explosion of the United States Bank, there was found, crumpled up amongst the rubbish in a closet, as has been already stated, a sheet of common letter-paper, on which was entered in pencil mark the initials of some of the officers and their favorites, to whom more than \$20,000,000 had been loaned, on hypothecation, by a committee of this board to sundry persons on their notes with collaterals of West Feliciana, Vicksburg, and other moonshine scrip; and the sequel showed that more than the whole capital, \$35,000,000, by these and similar causes had been swept away.

It is doubtful if the debts of this bank will be paid, and it is now admitted that the stockholders will never get a dollar.

Just in proportion to the magnitude of the objects of venal plunder, are the duplicity and art employed to attain them.

For years before the eruption referred to occurred, the pomp and power of this institution so mysteriously pervaded the public mind, that acts of disgusting adulation were lavished upon its officers, those opposed to it were persecuted, and expressions of doubt as to the integrity of its governors or the solvency of the bank would have exposed the publisher to the perils of being mobbed or lynched.

Even after the exposure of the truth, such were the morbid sympathy and sordid influences employed, that the publication of the evidence given upon the efforts made to bring them to justice, was wholly suppressed, and they all escaped through the rotten meshes of the law. Such is the marvelous and superficial delusion and the mysterious and successful accomplishments of fashionable and ostentatious rogues.

Mix not with them, except to find them out; to expose and prosecute them is waste of time, and dangerous.

Use them, to know and guard against their frauds, but put nothing in their power, for it will be embezzled or stolen.

The utility of all banks, insurance and savings companies is doubtful. The ostensible idea is that they accommodate the

poor with the use of the money of the rich, lighten the burden of individual losses by flood and fire out of the small contributions of the many, and providently keep and invest the earnings of the ignorant and helpless.

Nothing can be so plausible as these benevolent plans for equalizing the condition of man, and nothing so replete with deception, or so liable to be perverted to the purposes of duplicity and fraud.

The poor are generally deluded into extravagance by relying on moneyed facilities, instead of their own safe and patient savings.

Insuring is like faro; the fact is that the profits will exceed the loss, or the dealer and the banker would not sit down to their table.

Mutual insurance, without capital, rests upon the same speculation, or it would not be begun, and money savings shops presuppose the impudent sophism of the ignorance and stupidity of the depositors, which is as false on one side as it is cowardly and servile on the other, for there never was a human being who had industry to make a dollar that had not sagacity to save it as well as a corporation, who, however honest, out of its interests and profits will take good care to pay its rent and salaries.

So that the real advantages are not only doubtful, but so it is that they are always used for fraud and swindling; and all honest men, unless they are indubitably certain that they are under the management of those who are pure and discreet, should utterly refuse to touch their stock, and by every act of discountenance, discredit and repudiate them.

If respectable men will properly use and exert their influence, by frowning down these insolent and audacious usurpers of public opinion, they can themselves obtain and hold dominion over the popular will.

By these pious frauds, these private and lawful preparations for self-defence, these deadly weapons carefully concealed, with the eyes wide awake, but not too wide open, you may glide past these artful rogues, using them yourself, and not being used by them.

As I walked by myself, I talked to myself,  
And myself it said unto me,  
Beware of thyself, take care of thyself,  
For nobody cares for thee.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### GOVERNMENTS.

Sources of despotic governments—Nobility—The multitude—Ambition—Montesquieu—Office—Free governments—The poor and rich—The sword—Cost of twenty years' war in Europe—Of people to govern themselves—Liberty—Congress—Rome—Tribunes—Veto power—Revolution—People of the United States—Vigilance—Danger—Union—Fraternity—Apathy of the people—Excitement—Inconsistency—Query, if monopolies in free governments do not defraud the people as much as privileged orders do in arbitrary governments—Can any form of government guard against private and public abuses?—Veto power—Occasion for vigilance—Extracts, &c.

FAMILIARITY with guilt benumbs the conscience and encourages the heart to persevere in wickedness, but it can furnish no excuse or palliation for it; on the contrary, it requires the constant perpetration of other crimes to justify, conceal, and maintain the first sin.

One crime necessarily provokes, excites, and requires another, until the mind is wholly engrossed in shifts and subterfuges for the practice of fraud and violence.

The first unlawful grant of land, and creation of privilege by title or franchise, for the exclusive advantage of the few, at the expense of the rest of the people, was an act of unauthorized violence; and its continuance, under the penalties of insurrection and treason for resistance, is an aggravation, as it is an hourly repetition of the original fraud.

No people ever consented to these usurpations upon their rights no more than they have consented to be slaves.

They will no sooner surrender a part of their rights than they will voluntarily agree to part with them all.

Whenever this invasion has been perpetrated, it has been accomplished by the despotic power of the sword, and the people have been compelled to submit to it.

Whether this arbitrary force covers a part or the whole, the principle is the same. The military chieftain and the ruthless demagogue, who would rob the people of their rights, by or-

daining speial privileges, and seizing the public lands for themselves and their minions ; and the ruffian who captures and sells his fellow-man into bondage, are alike guilty of robbery and treason. And the audaeious misercant who holds these hellish spoils by purchase or by sucession stands upon the same degraded footing with the first eutthroat and kidnapper ; one has been stimulated perhaps by ambition, ignoranee, avarice, and lust of power—excuses too mean for the sordid dealer or the hereditary footpad.

There is no sanetion of law or religion, wealth, rank, or power, that can mitigate these burning wrongs ; and just in proportion to their duration will be the remorse and retribution of those who moisten their hands or stain their eonseiences with the sweat or the blood of their fellow-man.

It was this lust for dominion, injustiee, and cruelty, whieh stimulated the revolt of Lueifer ; and his doom will fall upon the heads of those who perpetrated his perfidious rebellion against the holy laws and equal rights of all God's creatures.

There is a downright absurdity in the toleration of despotic or aristoeratie governments. All the arguments and theories in their favor are infamous deeceptions and scandalous frauds. They are nowhere, or under any eircumstances, required. The reason why they have been tolerated is that the honest people prefer their private pursuits to publie affairs, and thereby give rogues an opportunity to usurp their rights. And when these usurpers obtain dominion, they plunge the people into ignoranee and brutal servility, and keep them there by force.

#### BLIND CREDULITY OF TIIE MULTITUDE.

“The meaner sort are too credulous, and led with blind zeal, blind obedienee, to prosecute and maintain whatsoever their sotish leaders shall propose ; what they in pride and singularity, revenge, vain glory, ambition, spleen, for gain, shall rashly maintain and broach, their disciples make a matter of conscienee, of hell and damnation, if they do it not ; and will rather forsake wives, children, house, and home, lands, goods, fortunes, life itself, than omit or abjure the least title of it ; and to advance the eommon cause, undergo any miseries, turn traitors, assassinate, pseudo-martyrs, with full assurance of reward in that other world—that they shall eertainly merit by it, win heaven, be canonized for saints.”—BURTON’S *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 655.

Arbitrary governments cannot be preferred on the score of economy, justice, or morals ; on the contrary, they have ever been distinguished for fraud, injustice, and prodigality : nor for internal security, or external protection ; for assassinations and insurrections have most prevailed when the people have had the least to do with government.

Napoleon and Louis Philippe were constantly beset by conspiracies and rebellions.

In the French Revolution of 1848, the government had but twelve rounds of cartridge to defend the throne.

Whether this insurrection was a mob, or whether it was right or wrong, it boots not, for it would have been the same if a sudden descent by a foreign army had been made upon their capital.

If people will burn or tear down here, and there is no arm to stop them, it takes nothing from the argument, for it never was better with kings or emperors. They have always been more helpless in times of popular commotion than free governments.

Nor do these stringent governments elevate the condition of men by the diffusion of knowledge, reward of industry, and encouragement of genius ; on the contrary, they deceive the ignorant, oppress and burthen the pursuits of labor, neglect learning, betray virtue, and sneer at and persecute honest industry, and moral and mental worth.

Their policy is to degrade man and his lawful pursuits. And the social and moral condition of men has always sunk and degenerated just in proportion as their power has prevailed.

Such rulers are distinguished for laziness, ignorance, prodigality, and injustice.

No prince or nobleman, of the thousands who have lived in this nineteenth century, has written a choice and sterling book, or invented an improvement in tactics, science, law, mechanics, chemistry, agriculture, or steam ; or developed a new thought in poetry, music, or metaphysics.

They have held undisturbed dominion over the moral and physical energies of millions, without an effort to enlarge the sphere of their usefulness.

No work of philanthropy or amelioration ; no dissolution of feudal fetters and monopoly of lands ; no release of the poor vassals ; no deliverance from the dark and iron bondage of

ignorancee, has been vouchsafed to man by these anointed vice-regents. But their accursed lives have been dedicated to the hellish work of crushing the spirit, and enslaving the souls and bodies, of their suffering and oppressed race.

In what is called civilized Europe, which is less than one-fourth part of the area of the world, there are two hundred and fifty millions: one-fourth of the whole population of the entire globe.

It contains sixty-six governments, twenty-one kingdoms, and thirty-two duchies, nineteen of which owe more than ten thousand million dollars.

England alone owed, on the 1st of January, 1848, 3,000 millions of dollars.

One of these kings "*is a rowdy, and spends all his time with his dog and his gun.*"

Another, old Bernadotte, of Sweden, a French soldier, reigned from 1809 to 1842, a period of thirty-three years, and died at eighty, without ever having known one word of the Swedish language.

The King of Bavaria said to a gentleman of Philadelphia, in 1847, "*O yes! Pennsylvania is one of the Slave States: there are a great many slaves there.*" And upon being told that there had not been a slave there for forty years, he replied: "*O yes, I dare say; yes, now I remember it very well!*"

Several of these sovereigns are ignorant, frivolous, and licentious females.

Of all these sixty-six emperors, kings, and dukes, including all the queens, princesses, and noblemen by whom they are surrounded, there has been no one of them, male or female, within the last fifty years, who has ploughed an acre of ground, reaped one sheaf of wheat, woven one yard of cloth, made a loaf of bread, written a book that has been read, or composed a song or a bar of music that has been sung.

A more listless, stupid, ignorant, debauched race of beings than these spent-out, idiotic miscreants has never existed.

A fair sample of their chaste and royal aspirations has recently been discovered by the ripped-open closets of the Louvre.

The studied, obscene, and impatient projects for premature virility and incestuous propagation, disclosed by the written correspondence of the "*Citizen King*" of France to his own daughter, would for ever blast the name of a slave-driver or a herdsman.

MONTESQUIEU, in his "Spirit of Laws," vol. i. p. 25, says: "I venture to affirm that in a monarchy it is extremely difficult for the people to be virtuous.

"Let us compare what the historians of all ages have asserted concerning the courts of monarchs; let us recollect the conversation and sentiments of people of all countries in respect to the wretched character of courtiers; and we shall find that these are not airy speculations, but truths confirmed by a sad and melancholy experience.

"Ambition in idleness, meanness mixed with pride, a desire of riches without industry, aversion to truth, flattery, perfidy, violation of engagements, contempt of civil duties, fear of the prince's virtue, hope from his weakness, but, above all, a perpetual ridicule cast upon virtue, are, I think, the characteristics by which most courtiers in all ages and countries have been constantly distinguished.

"Now it is exceedingly difficult for the leading men of the nation to be knaves, and the inferior sort to be honest; for the former to be cheats, and the latter to rest satisfied with being only dupes.

"But, if there should chance to be some unlucky honest man among the people, Cardinal Richelieu, in his political testament, seems to hint that a prince should take care not to employ him, or to employ men of mean extraction, for they are too rigid and morose.

"So true is it that virtue is not the spring of monarchical government."

There is no irresponsibility to the people, no concealment from the public, no pomp or show, no assumptions of sanctified power, divine right, or holy unction, that can longer blind and delude the people upon this subject.

There is everywhere a broadcast prevalence of knowledge and good common sense that enables the world to appreciate the fact that the whole contrivance of hereditary and feudal aristocracy is an impudent plot; and that the people in future will be their own masters, and so organize their governments that the blood and waste time of these expensive revolutions shall be substituted for fixed periods for change, at which all delegated power shall return back to its original source, and new servants be appointed by the people, in their aggregate and primitive capacities.

This first great practical guarantee and safeguard of a repub-

lican government consists in having all officers, civil and judicial, from the highest to the lowest, elected directly by the people, for short terms, with a mere compensation, and an unyielding law of disqualification for a second term for the same office, and the power to veto out of office. There should not be, with any one, official patronage.

The human heart is selfish. Few die, and none resign. The second taste for office is stronger than the first; and the sophism is urged that experienced agents should not be disturbed.

The officer soon fancies the office his own, and his constituents his slaves.

Arrogance, oppression, and peculation obtain a footing which nothing can purge out or uproot but revolt or revolution, or the chastening and practical substitutes of democratic institutions.

These express reservations should be engrafted upon the Constitution of the United States, and of every State in the Union, and they should be absolute and perpetual.

Let those bent on and rabid for office rotate, if the people will suffer such vermin to abide in place; but never let them hold the same office twice.

There would then be no truckling to incumbents, nor frauds by those in office to secure their re-election.

No freeman should be required to obey any officer, or submit to any law put upon him by the arbitrary will of another, nor to acknowledge or obey any authority, but that which has been ordained and chosen by a majority of the whole community in which he lives, and where all have had an equal right and chance to vote.

If the people are competent to choose their presidents and vice-presidents, governors, members of legislature, sheriffs, and aldermen, why are they not capable of selecting their senators, judges, and all other officers?

There should be no government functionaries independent of the people.

The creation and authority of officers who are independent of the people engender jealousy and distrust with the people, and resentment and defiance with the officers.

The natural propensity with such officers is to place themselves above the people, and to use all their power to keep the people under them. They naturally become idle, dissolute, and oppressive, and impose upon the people labor, poverty, and extortion.

The picture of a paternal monarch benignantly holding only

the interests of his subjects in view, with a superior capacity to know their wants, and magnanimity to dispense even-handed justice, is a fictitious creation of the imagination.

All men are alike in the sordid and sinister lust for sway and control; and just in proportion to their opportunities will they abuse power.

Officers thus elected cannot screen themselves behind an executive, or a life or hereditary commission. Nor will the people have occasion to fear their own appointees who hold power directly from their constituents, and with but a brief and limited tenure of office.

The great evil with government is that the people are too apt to be dazzled with its parades and pageantry, and too prone to allow too much government, and that those in place never fail to take advantage of these public propensities.

An honest and vigilant police, competent and just judges, and impartial jurymen, are pretty much all that is required in time of peace for civil government; and in time of war, a free people with good officers will do the rest.

Presidents and governors should be plain old gentlemen, without any patronage; Congress should sit but three or four months every two years.

The State legislators should meet but once in two years, and sit but two months.

They should have no power to create corporations, grant privileges of any description, or borrow money; all these matters should be left to the people. They should hold their offices for a short term, and be ineligible to the same office again.

To whom does this whole matter belong? Whose business is it but the people's? Who shall dare to dictate to the people, or say that one man who has been elected governor of a State can therefore better choose a judge for a county one or two hundred miles off, than the people of that county themselves?

The idea is ridiculous and false, and its indulgence has disclosed, all over the United States, flagrant abuses of executive power, judicial arrogance, ignorance, and oppression.

A judge should be elected for three or four years only, and ineligible to the same office for a second term.

The people should have power to veto and turn out by ballot any of their officers, and elect others in their place at any annual election.

Why not? Are they afraid of popular anarchy? Who dares to doubt the integrity of the people? Have they not

ruled here for sixty years in nearly all things directly ? and why not now make the system perfect ?

The popular choice in all things is the true foundation of freedom, the political balance-wheel of all free governments. It secures the public peace and forbearance against abuse and oppression, because the people know that the incumbents are of their own choice, and that they will soon go out.

This would stop strife and contention for office, encourage honest zeal for the public service, and put back and supersede the unfit.

The whole scheme would then quietly and imperceptibly move on from year to year, as the feelings, the wants, the opinions, and the lives of men change and succeed each other.

And why not ? Shall not man choose his home, his pursuits, and his altar ?

And in all these abrogate or change, as his taste, his interest, his hopes, and his riper judgment may ordain ?

He is made in God's image ; and may he not, with God's aid, do as he will ?

We are all born equal, and all governments were at first free.

Shall one man with force set himself over another ?

Has God permitted or ordered this ?

Has man agreed to it ?

Man has never consented to, nor can he be arbitrarily ruled.

Liberty is unalienable. All power is primarily with the people.

Even despots acknowledge this primitive law of nature, and preface their installation to power by the infamous deception of a pretended election or suffrage, by a conspiracy of corrupt and perjured nobles or soldiers. And to magnify this detestable fraud, they profanely arrogate Divine nomination, and with royal pomp and regal grandeur take what they impiously call the holy unction.

Is a king imbued with more knowledge, or powers of search, or larger benevolence, than other men ? Is he immutable ? With faculties to adopt all things by rules of sure and exact right ?

What would be the burst of scorn by the people of the United States, if any of their presidents—even if he possessed all the virtues of the whole twelve they have had, without any of their foibles—had told the people that he held his office

from above, and warned them not to profane his holy heritage from heaven?

Yet here, in this enlightened era of the world, in 1848, the King of Prussia arrogantly proclaimed to his subjects, who demand a free constitution—

“I know that I am indebted to God *only* for my crown, and that I have a right to say, let him who touches it beware!”

There is a singular evidence of this barbarous and malignant spirit of monarchical and aristocratic power in the wars which consumed the lives and the treasures of Europe from 1790 to 1814.

Its disastrous consequences should warn the people of the United States against all wars except those which are essential for national defence and vindication.

The illustration referred to is as follows:—

“The net produce of twenty years of war:

“French levies of June 24, 1791, 150,000 men; Sept. 1792, 100,000; February 24, 1793, 300,000; April 16, 1793, 30,000; requisition of August 16th, 1793, 1,050,000; conscriptions of 3 Vend. an VII., 190,000; 28 Germin, an VII., 150,000; 24 Messidor, an VII., 110,000; 28 Floreal, an X., 120,000; 5 Floreal, an XI., 120,000; ditto an XII., 60,000; 8 Nivose, an XIII., 60,000; 27 Nivose, an XIII., 60,000; 2 Vend. an XIV., 80,000; Dec. 15, 1806, 80,000; April 7, 1807, 80,000; Jan. 21, 1808, 80,000; Sept. 10, 1808, 80,000; Sept. 12, 1808, 80,000; Jan. 1, 1807, 80,600; April 25, 1809, 40,000; Oct. 5, 1809, 36,000; Dec. 18, 1809, 120,000; same day, 40,000; Sept. 1, 1812, 120,000; Jan. 11, 1813, 350,000; April 3, 1817, 180,000; Aug. 24, 1813, 30,000; Oct. 9, 1813, 280,000; Nov. 15, 1813, 300,000; total, 4,556,000.

“Napoleon, for his part, obtained by the conscription 2,276,000 men. In 1792, France had, as now, 86 departments. The conquests of the Republic gave her, in two years, the Rhine and the Alps for frontiers. From 1794 to 1800, the number of her departments was increased by 19, and made 105. Napoleon, in 1805, joined to France Holland, Maritime Germany, and half of Italy; created 27 new departments; France then having 132.

“In 1814, France was reduced to her old limits of 1790; and from her were taken Marienberg, Philippeville, and Landau. Such, then, was the net produce of twenty years’ gi-

gantie wars, heroie efforts, immeasurable saerifices, and blood-shed on every battle-field of Europe."

The sophisms of tyrants are as cruel and profane as they are untrue. Hereditary rulers, instead of holding superhuman virtues, are, from the very nature of their oceupations and impulses, in all these respects, inferior to the average standard of other men.

Are kings and nobles so sanetified by Heaven, when they begin their reign, that they will not relax in fitness or faith? Are the people and their wants to undergo no changes? and, if they do, are their masters, by miraeulous inspiration, to have the power to see and appreeciate all the mutations of time and mind? Is the slightest opposition to these bigoted and profane plots of barbarism, blasphemy and treason?

Are those who aspire to freedom to be denouneed as rebels against God and his holy servants?

The curse of man and God has smitten down these frauds.

The free and independent millions who inhabit in peace and safety the plains and valleys of the United States will say, if their public serviees are better performed by those long in, or those but recently placeed in, office.

Whether their battles have been better fought by standing armies or volunteers; or their laws have been better expounded and more faithfully administered by those who hold their eommissions from executive selection for life, or those whose fresh authority from the people stimulates them to activity and manly usefulness.

That government is the best whieh is least seen, and known, and felt by the people. Its patronage should not be made a matter of personal advantage under any pretext.

The people want no government except that whieh is essential for establishing settled guarantees for life, liberty, and safety, and uniform rules for the proteetion of the titles to and possession of property, and the definition and enforcement of contracts.

They wish to be let alone, and suffered to mind their own affairs, and live in peace.

There really is no other government than this in the United States, except it be in the deerees and judgments of the eourts. And if it were not that at least twelve jurymen, from the body of the people, stand by at the trial of every cause, these places of power would be abolished. For it has come to pass that

but little confidence can be placed in the integrity or wisdom of our rulers.

From the pastoral ages, through all the channels of human intercourse, there has not been the community of shepherds, fishermen, hunters, husbandmen, whether warlike or pacific, savage or benevolent, religious or infidel, which have not been prepared for, and by the instinct of a common fraternity, have organized a mutual compact for defence from without, and the effectual restraint of turbulence from within.

There is salt in the earth, or it would not bloom and blossom.

There is more intrinsic strength and power with the good than the bad men; more force with honor, industry, and religion than there is with knavery, idleness, and profanity; or the cords of society would be forever cut asunder.

These conservative elements are not with the rabble, but with the few who are virtuous.

For ten righteous men a city would have been saved.

The way of the transgressor is hard; and it is written: "*Be sure that thy sins will find thee out.*"

These searching, sacred, ever-present truths subdue the hearts and overawe the consciences of the depraved multitude, with reverence for right and dread of wrong.

The inherent aspirations of all honest men are for peace; and, except in seasons of tumult and violence, the moral force of their example must prevail.

There is no mysterious charm in government; it consists in resenting and resisting all unjust aggressions from without, and confining, or removing from within, all who will disturb the public repose.

If the inhabitants of each township, city, county, and State will mind their own affairs, and compel their neighbors to mind theirs, make their own laws, quietly submit to the decision of honest majorities, combine by solemn covenants for the protection of their own skill and labor, choose all their own officers afresh every two or three years, thoroughly discipline with right habits, and educate their children, lift up and encourage honest labor, blend it with science and knowledge, tolerate religion, repudiate all monopolies and all distinctions but those of industry, genius, patriotism, and honor; do these things, and no more, and there can be no better model of a civil government.

The republican patriots of the American Revolution were sneered at and derided for their sturdy faith in the great experiment of a free government. Some of them feared to cast loose the reins of power, and urged the adoption of hereditary offices and stringent prerogatives as essential to guard against the alleged inability of the people to govern themselves.

All the aristocracy of Europe scoffed and jeered at this humble contrivance for freedom and equality.

But this bold and glorious experiment has been, for more than half a century, fairly and triumphantly tested.

It is said that, since the adoption of the Constitution, the United States have spent more than six hundred and eighty-five millions of dollars in wars for the vindication of their liberties; and still they have no standing army, owe less money, and are the richest and freest nation on the globe.

Who fears to trust, who is afraid of the people?

Who is there in this country that is not more secure in his person, his property, and his religion, than he could be in any other part of the world?

If these fundamental political elements, heretofore denounced as radical and agrarian, of annual elections, ineligibility for a second term, and vetoing out those in office, could now be voted for in flat Saxon, they would obtain a majority of millions, and no man would dare to vote publicly against them.

As to the elections and their results, it is the same whether every man of full age, or every tenth or hundredth man, votes. We are all much more alike than we pretend to be. There are but seldom more than two or three different opinions upon any question, however important.

Generally but two parties, two candidates for President, sometimes three. It is so now with the entire French people, really but two parties: the Anarchists, not being entitled to be recognized as a legitimate party; and the rest being Republicans or Monarchs.

So that the practical effect of proper suffrage would be the same, whether every man voted or the choice was left to ten or a hundred men in each county; with this difference, that, by permitting all honest, lawful men to vote, all are made proud, and go home happy.

The poor and the humble find, in this high and noble act of sovereign power, an elevated and cheering inspiration of honest

patriotism that puts them upon the same glorious platform of republican equality with the rich and the great, and reconciles them to bear with patience and hope the uneven changes of their weary lot.

All the feudal lands and property of the nobility and of sovereigns everywhere should be confiscated and sold for the public benefit. This is a legitimate incident of every revolution. After the battle of Hastings, the lands were portioned out by William to his subordinate cutthroats, whose progeny still hold them by violence. Their restoration would but place the people of England where they were when robbed, with this difference, that the robbers have had the use of the lands, and have held the people in bondage for nearly eight hundred years.

The North American provinces, upon this same principle, made similar confiscations, and Pennsylvania thus appropriated the proprietary rights. Although William Penn had formally bought his lands from the Indians, this was held to be a nominal purchase ; and the confiscation was principally predicated upon the super-arrogant grant made to Governor Penn under the royal charter.

Every inch of ground and every particle of property thus held should be seized and forfeited to the people and sold, as if it were public domain, and the proceeds applied to the compromise and settlement of the public debt.

All orders and titles, and their scandalous franchises, perquisites, rack-rents, and pensions, should be banished ; and all entailments and feudal tenures, property qualifications, and privileges should be for ever abolished ; and the whole race of Adam should be once more cast loose upon the broad bosom of our common mother earth, to work their passage through life, unaided and unrestrained by everything but exact and equal justice, and with no disfranchisements or privileges except that which comes from wickedness and virtue.

The sword should never be used but to defend and redress the people, not their rulers ; and no man should be allowed any advantage over another but that which is acquired by and conceded to industry, honor, and wisdom. All the people should govern in everything, and no man should hold office or place one hour after his electors shall have regularly pluralized their dissent to, and their want of faith in, him.

Upon the exile and death of Tarquinus, the last king of

Rome, and the resignation of Valerius their last dictator, the people established a republic.

The essential elements of this form of government were a senate, who passed laws, and the tribunes of the people, who sat at the door of the senate chamber, and to whom the laws were sent for approval or veto. If the tribunes did not concur, they wrote upon the bill "we forbid."

These tribunes were the immediate representatives of the people; and to secure them safety and independence, their persons were declared sacred, and whosoever offered the least violence to the person of a tribune was declared accursed, his estates were to be confiscated, and he himself might be killed with impunity. And all the Romans engaged themselves in their own name and that of their posterity never to repeal this law.

To this reservation of popular power, perhaps, may be ascribed the duration of the Roman Republic for a period of more than four hundred and sixty years. And its downfall came from the corruptions now deprecated.

The people have been robbed of this primitive and primary exercise of authority, and by an artful fraud it has been given to their chief ruler, under the impudent pretence that he is the immediate representative and safeguard of the people.

The sovereign authority of every government may at a nod remove any officer, and veto any law passed by the people.

The President of the United States can, by a dash of the pen, and without cause, turn out every member of his executive and diplomatic corps, and strike every commission from the roll of the army and navy. For this there is no redress or appeal. Whenever the balance of feeling, or the majority of thoughts, or the weight of objections, preponderates against the dependents of this irresponsible and supreme power, they are dismissed.

There is no difference between this exercise of authority by one man for the people, and the same thing being done by the people themselves, except that they have original and supreme power, whereas the executive authority is secondary, and wholly derived from the people.

The majority of the people, with their preponderating reasons and votes, would perhaps be as near right as the majority of the reasons of one man.

This annihilation veto, this arbitrary fiat, is now exclusively allowed to a single man. The people have no such power.

And it is high time that they should take this power of vetoing laws from their executive officers, and give it to a committee or tribune of three or five men, of at least fifty years of age, chosen, by a general vote of the people, for this special purpose, every two or three years; and that the people should have the same power to vote out, as to vote in, all their officers. This question in that connection is discussed in Chapter XVII., on the Requisites for Office.

Capt. Ford, in his *Duchess of Baden* (chap. x, page 67), reports a conversation in 1793, at a dinner party of the late Chief Justice McKane, in Philadelphia, between the judge, Gov. Mifflin, Cole, Timothy Pickering, and others, in which the judge maintained, with much confidence, the opinion, that the free institutions of the United States would wholly guard against the abuses of governments where a nobility and other privileged orders prevail. Whereupon, one of the company suggested whether a republican government would not be apt to open a wide door for adroit factions and corrupt speculators, by corporation monopolies and fraudulent jobbing in lands, merchandize, and stocks, to swindle and plunder the people out of their labor and their rights, as much as this was done by the nobility and aristocracy in monarchical governments.

There is something startling and original in this thought. It leads the mind to the involuntary conclusion that no human device can circumvent or arrest the stratagems by which a portion of mankind skillfully and cunningly succeed in exalting themselves over, and by fraud living off of the earnings of, the rest of the world.

Capt. Ford carries out this suggestion in a note (page 69) containing an authentic statement of facts, which show that, up to 1848, the people of the United States had been robbed out of more than \$2,000,000 by banks, bankrupts, and broken corporations, &c., alone; to which might be safely added as much more for frauds in government contracts, and the peculations and embezzlements of the retainers of the government, which is but seldom found out.

There is no safeguard against the success of the pernicious and successful plots of knaves and rogues but for the people constantly to remember that which cannot be too often repeated: That eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

"It is a common saying that no man succeeds in life who has not a purpose; and experience corroborates the assertion. Every person can recall individuals, who with brilliant talents and great advantages of education have failed, from their uncertain character, to make a mark in the world; while others, with little to recommend them but a fixed purpose and an indomitable will, have succeeded almost beyond credibility. It is the man who has an idea to carry out that wins the race of life. It is the aimless fellow who is forever failing.

"And as it is with individuals, so it is with empires. No nation has ever risen to celebrity that had not its idea. Rome, ambitious to conquer the world, and true, through bad and good fortune, to her idea, rose from a petty village on the Tiber to be the central seat of the most extensive military government recorded in history; and it was only when she abandoned her idea, when the emperors preferred inglorious sloth to battle, when her people degenerated from soldiers into slaves, that Rome fell from her high eminence. Spain, as long as she was fired with the idea of expelling the Saracens, increased in power and prosperity; but when the Moors were conquered and her enthusiasm gone, she sank rapidly to decay. Three hundred years ago the Turks were the terror of Europe. And why? Because they were possessed with the idea that all Christian nations were destined to fall before them; and, inflamed with this belief, they poured out their hostile armies with a fury that was invincible. But now Turkey is crumbling to pieces. Why, again? Because the enthusiasm of the Moslem has departed; because he no longer feels that he has a mission; because, from the Sultan on the throne to the camel-driver in the desert, the heroic idea of the past is gone forever.

"There are races in Europe, which, though numerous, energetic, and, in some respects, even powerful, have never made any considerable figure in history; while others, with smaller populations and resources, have blazed in the annals of mankind since their very first appearance. The Germans are an example of the first; the Gauls of the last.—The Germans, as a nation, have been without an idea, and, therefore, have never been conspicuous. The French, on the other hand, have been ambitious of military glory, and in every century, for a thousand years, have won laurels in war. Since the historic period began in western Europe, the Germans, though numerically the strongest nation, have been divided into petty principalities, have had

conflicting interests, have been without any grand ideas of a common mission; and hence, though they have assisted to make the fame of Charlemagne, Frederick Barbarossa, Napoleon, and other heroes, and though they have sustained the Roman empire of Otho, the Austrian glories, and the Prussian renown, have never distinguished themselves as a German nation. In less than this period of a thousand years, England has become the mistress of the seas; France has been, again and again, master of Europe; and Hungary, Poland, Spain, and Turkey have each made themselves a place in history. All these have had, in their day, an idea, an enthusiasm; but the German people as yet have had none.

“There are but two nations now, in the civilized world, which may be said to have an idea. The mission of England, which was that of colonization, is nearly over; for that empire, which grew by commerce with her dependencies, has visibly passed the zenith of her power. France, in like manner, is waning; for the idea of military glory is effete. Wars, indeed, will prevail, but they will rage to secure an end, and not, as with most French wars, merely for the sake of war. Italy, Spain, and Turkey have, long ago, fulfilled their destiny, and now exist merely as dead forms, and not as living vitalities. All those powers, not even excluding France, have made no progress for a century: and this would be additional proof, if more was required, to show that they have passed their prime. But there is an empire, even in Europe, which prospers. Russia has doubled itself in the last hundred years, and promises to increase as much in the hundred to come. For Russia is possessed with an idea. In the New World, our own republic thrives even more vigorously than Russia in the Old: for the United States, too, has its idea. And these two empires—in Europe, Russia; in America, the United States—are destined, in the future, to divide the glories of history.

“The idea of Russia is that of modernized despotism; the idea of the United States is federative republicanism. The great problem to be solved, in succeeding centuries, is which shall prevail. Both nations are civilized; both are comparatively young; both are full of enthusiasm and confidence in themselves. Intelligent Russians believe as firmly that they are to conduct Europe to a higher development, as the citizens of this republic believe in the superiority of a free government and in the final extension of liberal principles over the globe. Both cannot be

correct in these visions of the future. If Russia prevails, the United States must fail. It is too late, in an age of steam communication, to hold that absolutism may reign paramount in Europe, while republicanism controls the Western Hemisphere. Two antagonistic ideas cannot thus geographically divide the world. To say that a man may think freely on one side of the Atlantic, yet must cease to think on the other side—and that this state of things is to continue through a whole cycle of the world's history—is to assert an impossibility. Printing presses, education, the growth of political knowledge will not allow of such an absurdity. It is a question of mind, not of armies. Indeed, so evidently is it so that the battle will be fought in books, in newspapers, in the rostrum, long before it will come to the arbitration of cannon, as come it will in the end. The war of thought, in truth, has already begun. The letter of Webster to Hulsemann is the first gun in this campaign. Centuries may pass before the last is fired.

“Do we doubt the result of this conflict? Not for a moment. As firmly as we believe that Russia is destined to become, if she is not already, the dictator of Europe, so firmly do we believe that, in time, the United States will dictate even to her. It was for some great purpose that the hand of Providence was so signally exhibited in the settlement of these shores and the formation of this republic; and that purpose we hold to be the dissemination of liberal principles, and the extension of that wonder of political science, federative republicanism. We believe in progress. We have no faith in the dotards who tell us that the world has seen its best days; who sneer at the mighty inventions of the past century; who trace a thousand evils to freedom of thought; and who recommend to us a return to the parental form of government in polities as in religion. We repudiate the idea that men, who have once tasted of freedom, can subside into slavery. We cannot be persuaded that our descendants, in this hemisphere, will ever voluntarily give up self-government; and we know that no empire, or even coalition of empires, can compel them to resign it unwillingly. Instead of imitating the Old World, the Old World must imitate us. We believe, therefore, that, in this great struggle, the cause of freedom must prevail, and that Russia, the exponent of modern absolutism, will perish, as the old French monarchy, the representative of feudal despotism, perished seventy years ago. It will be a terrible, a protracted conflict, and, in the end, when

Russia becomes all-powerful in Europe, it may, indeed it *must*, come to the arbitrament of cannon. But the victory will be with freedom. To believe otherwise would be to despair of the world, of humanity, of religion itself."

It is as follows: that Britain is at last compelled to write down her acknowledgments of the stability and purity of our government, and the dignity and strength of our Union.

"The Americans carried with them, across the ocean, not only the forms of good government, but the principles of good citizenship. They never built upon political theories, or effected any change except upon sound reasons and by sober means. They did not substitute a republic for a monarchy in deference to any imaginary code of rights antecedent to recorded laws, but when, in pursuance of settled convictions, they had reluctantly renounced an allegiance, they made the best provisions in their power for administering the government themselves. Little was changed beyond the form of the executive. They devised no new relations between man and man, nor did they deem themselves competent to recast the frame of civil society. They retained every institution and practice which could be accommodated to a Congress instead of a king. Far from extemporizing new laws, they preserved, in their reverence, even the least desirable attributes of the old, and have only just now reformed their system of procedure, when we, their elder brethren, are confessing a like necessity and acknowledging the goodness of their example. These were the principles which preserved them. Amid a variety of temptations, apparently infinite when viewed from this side of the Atlantic, but perhaps less serious when more closely contemplated, they have always acknowledged that private opinions must yield to the recorded will of society at large, and that no community can maintain a political existence where every citizen claims the right of promoting by violence his own speculative conceits.

"The thirteen States of the Union have already become three and thirty, if not more, for they increase as we write, and there is space and verge enough for converting the number into a hundred. It is beyond all human power to calculate the prospects of a government to which one continent supplies territory and another population. *What California is to America, America is to the whole world. No example has ever yet been seen of such a mighty and interminable conflux of people.* Ireland alone supplies yearly to this extraordinary State the population of a first class city. San Francisco has increased more in two years

than Brighton in fifty. The treasures of the new territory have attracted immigrants in equal numbers from the two proverbial extremities of the world—from China and Peru, and yet by some wonderful process the system of the Union appears to absorb and assimilate to its constitution these various and conflicting elements."

## CHAPTER XX.

### FANATICS AND FACTIONS.

Political meetings—Squads—Cabals—Impotence of—Slavery—Free soil—Factions—Election of General Taylor—Prccedents—Law of majority—Trial of the queen—The Union—Finale.

THE ignorant and exploded notion that the safety and the morals of the people are endangered by numerous gatherings at the elections has been for more than fifty years shown in the United States to be an entire mistake.

If the demagogues and leaders of factions did not, by music and banners, oceasionally collect the giddy and the idle, the elections would come off with little show, except the immense and quiet throngs pressing with firm and steady tread to the place of suffrage.

Town meetings are not much encouraged ; and the elections are now conducted with appropriate decorum.

There is no fear of the influence of foreigners ; they are charmed by our institutions. Let them fly here by thousands. From them and ourselves there come up at every national poll more than half a million of native born voters, with whom everything in polities but republican freedom and religious toleration is abhorred and despised.

This fresh race of proud and educated American noblemen have just now cast off the odious incubus of party policy, and all incidental questions of local or minor movement have been driven from the great platform of national action.

They have proclaimed abroad to all men that the fundamental elements of their compact shall not be disturbed by aspirants for power. That designing demagogues and crafty philanthropists shall not be suffered to engraft their heresies upon the great magna charta of American liberty. That they will not suffer one lash from the scourge of faction or party discipline, and that the purifying machinery of their elections shall blow to oblivion all the sophistries and profanities of political gamesters and scolding fanatics.

The bill for the admission of California was put upon its final vote in the Senate of the United States August 13th, 1850, with a provision that the people should have power to allow or disallow slavery as they chose. The vote was a strict slavery and anti-slavery vote—North and South—and wholly independent of democrat and whig consideration; and the vote stood 33 yeas and 18 nays.

On the following day ten senators presented to the Senate a written protest against this vote, for no reason but that in their opinion Congress should impose slavery on that State against the express will of the people.

Seven of these ten fanatics occupied 144 days, during the debate on this question, in support of this impudent and infamous proposition.

Here, then, there are 10 against 43 who voted—8 of the minority refusing to protest—who attempt to stigmatize a vote of 33 to 10, that is to say, three and three-tenths to one.

A more transcendent, impudent, and brutal violation of personal and legislative decorum was never perpetrated.

They knew that the Senate would refuse to record their vulgar and treasonable missile, and it was only made to gratify their malignant depravities, and to court the brutal passions of their slave-driving constituents.

Such restless, heartless, impudent demagogues profane their allegiance, and their oaths of office, and lack the courage to do by personal force that which they would accomplish by trick and fraud. They would trample down by violence all law, order, and majorities, and ride rough-shod over the people, as millions of other rude and tyrannical aristocrats have done, under all names and pretexts, ever since the days of their eldest brother Cain.

Questions supposed to be of startling magnitude have been finally settled. The toleration of irritating and alarming discussions has been abolished.

And thus, for ages to come, the peace and security of our holy Union have been guaranteed.

Let it now be written down for solemn thought and perpetual memorial, that, whatever may be the supposed or real sincerity of the opponents of war and slavery, non-resistance, anti-tariff, and negro emancipation, and however these doctrines may enter into the religious creeds of the Quakers, the Dunkards, the

Shakers, and the Minionetts, together with all the advocates of slavery, free labor, and free soil, by the presidential election of 1848, and by the action of Congress in 1850, they have been abolished. They all had a full and fair chance, and have been effectually put down.

All these squads and factions united their whole strength under the popular name of free soil, with a distinguished candidate, Mr. Van Buren, for chief magistrate, and at a propitious season, and the result has shown their utter insignificance.

Out of a national vote of more than 2,892,000 they have gleaned up only 291,342 votes, less than nine to one hundred, and almost a thousand to one hundred—a proportion of the whole too small to be regarded, in morals, religion, or polities, as a party.

And they have been recreant to themselves, and thus forfeited the respect they claim for their conscientious pretensions, for in the city and county of Philadelphia, where there are most certainly five or six thousand Quaker votes, who profess abolitionism as a part of their religious faith, there were polled for this ticket but eight hundred and seventeen votes, and out of three hundred and sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-two votes, in Pennsylvania, they polled but eleven thousand two hundred and sixty-three, about one to thirty, or three to one hundred; and the same ridiculous discrepancies occurred all over the country.

All these subjects have been fully before the people, and at this time it is obvious that they care nothing about them; not but that these and all other proper matters will receive their appropriate and suitable legislative consideration, but that they are now considered as too local and transitory to be made elements of constitutional and national policy.

Nor should these old saws be filed over again upon the pretense that they and their advocates have not been understood, for by books, pictures, plays, songs, and sermons in pulpits and senates, by thousands of zealots, demagogues, and devout preachers, they have been put forth and paraded over the whole land for sixty years past, until it was thought that a test vote would show their advocates to be a party.

So that now it is beyond doubt that, whether war, anti-tariff, free soil, slavery, and abolitionism, be right or wrong, Christian or pagan, the masses do not care for them as party national questions one jot.

Common justiee demands for all parties an allowanee for their fair and proportionate capital of integrity, intelligence, and patriotism; and, if publie questions be raised, and fully and deliberately diseussed and examined, and ealmly considered for a long series of years, as those in question have been, and are finally voted upon, at a time distinctly favorable for their trial, and decided majorities deny that they are of sufficient importanee to constitute a cardinal rule of national action, it is as absurd as it is unjust to eontend that there is not in all this as great a preponderance of moral and mental as there is of numerical strength.

And such a minority should in future wholly abandon their compaet. Their politieal fraterniy, under such circumstances, draws the sineerity of their motives in question, and justly exposes them to the suspicion of selfish intentions.

They are considered turbulent, and beeome unpopular, and thus defeat their own ability for usefulness.

All that such portions and fragments of communities can do to advantage is, not by abuse and seurrility to array themselves against the others, but, by appropriate remonstrance and respectful importunity, to appeal to the justiee and wisdom of the majority.

If this fails, they should be silent, unless the emergeney justifies or provokes insurreetion, and then they toss the copper for death or vietory.

The squads, or assoeiation of squads referred to, have been found, by a fair test, to be ridiculously diminutive, without any inherent capaeities of inerease or cohesion, and hereafter they must be held as faetions, and be classed with Joe Smith and Father Miller, and their fanatie followers.

Amid these passing presages of popular will, the South has had its share of just and wholesome rebuke.

They, too, have been most signifeiantly admonished to be more wise and loyal.

They should retire from the rotunda of the Capitol, and no more disturb the repose and charaeter of the nation.

The entire question of slavery has everywhere, repeatedly, reeeived its final sentenee by the people, and their decree must be submitted to without a murmur.

While they will not, on the one hand, hereafter suffer negro emanicipation to disturb the country, on the other they will

not tolerate one threatening word against the Union by the slaveholders.

If their sense of justice is appealed to, that which is fair and right will be awarded. But the man or the State that utters a word of rebellion, because the people will not consent to let the slavedrivers desecrate free soil, will be crushed into the earth.

The voice of prudence bids them hold in silence, within their own limits, that which all civilized men but themselves have shaken off as a loathsome serpent.

At the last election, a desperate struggle was openly made by the fifteen slaveholding States, with all their strength, in support of General Taylor: out of the fifteen Slave States, seven States, to wit, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri, almost one-half, voted against him; and the fifteen Free States which sustained him did so on other grounds.

By this test of States, they stood twenty-two to eight, almost three to one.

Their popular vote, in all the Slave States, was four hundred and thirty-five thousand three hundred and forty-five, against two million eight hundred and seventy-two thousand and fifty-six, more than six to one.

The slaveholders got for General Taylor every vote from all parties that ever could be polled as a slave vote. There was not in those States, perhaps, a single vote for General Cass that at any time could be drawn off for a slave candidate; and if a direct test vote were to be put, they certainly would not get, on a direct slave test, all the votes they have obtained for General Taylor; for some who voted for him certainly voted upon other grounds than slavery, and it is not probable that any slave party man voted against him.

It is, therefore, certain that they can never poll, relatively, a stronger vote than they have just polled.

This vote numerically places them upon a footing but little better than the abolitionists, who polled almost three hundred thousand, and they a trifle over four hundred thousand; and they cannot, in fact, poll more votes than the abolitionists can poll; for this difference in their vote over the abolitionists was of persons, beyond all question, strongly urged by their admiration of General Taylor's elevated rank and singular success

as a soldier, and the conservative simplicity and purity of his politieal professions.

The people had been ridden down by parties and factions. The rank and file on both sides were restless; a change was desired all round.

The old lines, it was believed, had been rubbed out, and the young men who could not see or appreciate the old points of dispute, challenged the leaders of the two great parties with a mutual confflet for spoils. General Taylor, in the summer of 1846, in a conversation with a number of persons, said: "*That he was no politician, and that he had not voted for a great number of years.*" This was published on the tenth day of March, 1817, in a Philadelphia newspaper, and thereafter throughout the country, without contradiction. It obtained authority, and was held to be a distinct expression of his aversion to factions and politieal leaders. It excited political impulses, which were sympathized and responded to by all the young men from twenty to thirty-five years of age in the whole country.

This was the seeret emotion, and cabalistic signal, and password of his popularity; and by that deelaration his politieal feelings were telegraphed to the hearts of more than a million of American freemen.

There is not a doubt entertained by all impartial and intelligent persons of this having been the main cause of his triumphant sueess.

When the measures of his administration neutralized these favorable views, and in some measure, perhaps, disappointed the expeetations then entertained, it is doubtful whether the canvass could have been repeated with a similar result.

This was the seeret of his surprising popularity. He owed nothing to, but suffered from, his politieal friends. His ridiculous nomination at Philadelphia was aeeomplished by the slaveholders and gamblers for office, as was openly charged in the convention by gentlemen of the most unquestioned respectability; and it was never denied.

The numerous ballotings were waited for, and watched with a venal excitement and sordid anxiety peculiar to a lottery drawing, or a game at faro.

The correctness of the report upon the last ballot was questioned; no vote was ventured upon its validity, as all parliamentary rules and usages required, and the assembly broke up amidst angry tumult and personal vituperation.

It was believed, no doubt with good reason, that this uproarious meeting detracted from and deranged the element of the immense popularity which General Taylor then held.

If that convention had adjourned without action, General Taylor would have received an overwhelming majority from every State in the Union, and even that would have been no real or implied public continuance for slavery.

For, though a slaveholder, he was a patriot, and pledged himself to "*approve*," and not to "*veto*" the distinct vote of the people.

So much for all these popular tests for the strength of the slave party.

And in the efforts which they have so strenuously and adroitly made in Congress for carrying slavery still further, they have been repeatedly met and defeated by majorities equally formidable.

It is time, therefore, high time, that this party too, beyond their defined and admitted limits, should be silenced.

The justice and decorums of society imperiously demand and require that this should be promptly and efficiently done.

All the constitutional and political tests have been abundantly tried.

Nothing is left but force by them, or courtesy by the majority.

If they appeal to force, they will meet the fate of Actæon, who was devoured by his own dogs.

If they demand an extension of slavery or secession by courtesy, all other chances gone, that boon too has been denied to them, and they must be quiet.

A distinguished instance, illustrating this refined and delicate question of constraint, and the line by which high-minded and honorable men will not advance, occurred within the present century. It indicates the point to which it may ascend, and at which it must stop.

It most aptly suits the present condition of all our squads, and aggregation of squads, and, with what the people have recently said through the ballot-boxes, should in future place them all under a voluntary recognizance to keep the peace, and be of good behavior.

The case referred to is as follows:—

On the 5th of July, 1820, Lord Liverpool, the English pre-

mier, introduced into the House of Lords the bill of pains and penalties against Queen Caroline; which, reciting that "*she had carried on an adulterous intercourse with Bergami, her menial servant,*" enacted that "*she should be degraded from the title and station of queen, and that her marriage with the king should be dissolved.*"

This bill then passed a first reading, and the trial was ordered to begin on the 17th of August. After the trial, and a debate by the House of Lords of four nights, on the second of November, the second reading was carried by a majority of 28. On the tenth of November, it passed to a third reading by a majority of nine out of one hundred and ninety-one votes.

Thereupon, Lord Liverpool, instead of moving "*that this bill do pass,*" said that, "*had the third reading been carried by as considerable a number as the second reading (129 to 62, instead of 104 to 87), he and his noble colleagues would have felt it their duty to persevere in the bill; but with opinions so nearly balanced, the government had come to the determination to proceed no further with it.*"

Here a concession was made by 104 to 87, which was  $46\frac{86}{100}$  per cent. But this would not have been accorded by 129 to 62, which was but  $32\frac{2}{6}\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; so that, where the minority comes up to or rises 46 out of 100, then the majority, being less than 2 to 1, shall not wholly disregard the voice of the minority. But, if the majority rises above 2 to 1, to wit, 129 to 62, which is more than 2 to 1, the voice of the minority is not to be heard.

This case involved the divorcement and disfranchisement of a queen; and the validity and justice of this rule are sustained by abundant history and precedent.

If the proportions gathered from these legitimate sources of right are applied to the contentions in question, it will be seen that, however momentous the consequences, even unto death, that these belligerents are by all human laws most conclusively condemned to perpetual silence.

The single object here has been to show the unshaken resolution with which the people of the United States maintain the fundamental elements of their Constitution, and the utter abhorrence in which they hold all attempts to use it for any purpose but the direct preservation and perpetuity of their civil and religious liberties.

The words *slaveholder*, &c., have not been used in an offensive sense, nor the phrase *slave State*, which does not literally apply to some of these States, and perhaps it might not to any of them, if their people could have a fair chance to pass upon the question, released from the influences of interest and necessity.

Republican patriotism distinguished their career in 1798 ; to which their majorities in 1848 have adhered in seven out of their fifteen States, against the anxious exhortations of the slave party ; and in January, 1849, their delegates in Congress chided the mistaken zeal of Mr. Calhoun, and calmly appealed to "*the people of the United States*," and to their sense of justice, rather than to the irritated and sordid cupidity of the slavedriver ; and, in 1850, the same loyalty was held by them to the Union.

They support their domestic institutions with which they were born, while they cherish the blessings of our common brotherhood.

They maintain the inheritance of their fathers, but they love their country more.

Neill S. Brown, on accepting the Whig nomination for his re-election as Governor of Tennessee, in 1849, made the following observations upon the value of the Union :—

He remarked that questions had recently arisen, to one of which he would allude, the slavery question, arising from the acquisition of new territories. He said that on a question such as this he need give no pledges ; he had in his birth and education something better than pledges. He was in favor of the institutions of the South, but he valued the Union above everything else. He deprecated the fanaticism that seeks to array one portion of this glorious Union against another ; was opposed to the proposition made in some quarters of non-intercourse with the North, in case of the passage of the Wilmot Proviso ; said *he would not give one foot of ground on Bunker Hill, or Saratoga, or Yorktown, for all the land west of the Rio Grande, though all its hills were studded with gold, and its valleys filled with slaves.* He was opposed to those who would deny the Southern people their rights in the newly-acquired territories ; and thought that, in the present threatening aspect of things, a compromise should be made ; but he "*was for the Union at all hazards* ; for the South so long as he could be consistently with the preservation of the Union ; but *for the Union at all*

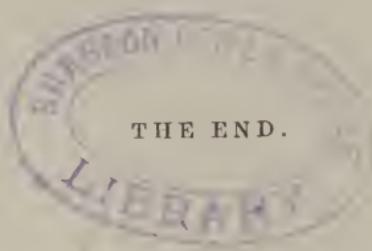
*events."* Hosts of American patriots have since then endorsed this bill of rights.

Pardon need not be asked, it is hoped, for this liberal and frank discussion; these ripe and careful thoughts, impromptu sketched in furtive moments; pious memorials and faithful records of ardent love for sacred liberty.

To mark the signs, and join the romantic shout for freedom's march throughout the world, for desolation to the spoiler of man's only heritage on earth.

That still there is surely held from Heaven, in all its purity and power, a firm and blessed Union; and that, in victorious strength, the iron heel of liberty and law again has firmly trodden down faction and wrong.

And, as perished by God's wrath the traitors to the holy revolutionary travail, so may they be withered too whose impious hands or breath shall harm or mar this pure fraternity of peace and joy with man and Heaven!







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